

**Crime as deterrent to sustainable tourism growth?
Perspectives on the impact of crime on tourism in
the Western Cape**

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this research assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the impact of crime on sustainable tourism growth in the Western Cape. It investigates tourists' perceptions of crime in the province and the role of the media in creating or influencing these perceptions. This study also provides an overview of the most important government initiatives and policies that have been undertaken and implemented at local, provincial and national levels. These policies are discussed and evaluated to determine whether it has in fact brought or encouraged sustainable tourism growth in the Western Cape.

A survey, with a sample size of 25 respondents was undertaken during the period of April to June 2005 and comprised 13 tour operators, eight tourism bureaus and four travel agencies, which are all based in the Western Cape. The aim of the study was to gain insight into the travel motivations and patterns of the thousands of tourists that visit the province every year and their perceptions regarding crime, from the viewpoint of these primary producers (i.e. the travel intermediaries) in the tourism production system.

Crime does not only affect residents, but also has an impact on tourist behaviour and deters visitors from visiting a country, as most tourists are risk-averse and consider such factors when deciding on a destination. Only a small number of tourists are disappointed with the crime situation when visiting the Western Cape, but the majority of tourists still regard it as a serious problem, and possible deterrent, of the province. These perceptions do have a tendency to change more positively once tourists have visited the area. Nevertheless, respondents feel obliged to warn tourists against crime or give them advice about their safety and security.

The various levels of government are committed towards improving safety and security in South Africa and numerous policies and initiatives have been developed and implemented. However, most do not specifically focus on crimes against tourists.

[Safety and security is considered as a prerequisite for a successful tourism industry, thus both local residents and tourists should receive equal attention with regards to safety and security from the government.] However, many respondents are unaware of the existence of the government's initiatives to combat crime, which raises doubts

about the effectiveness of these initiatives, their implementation and their intended benefits. The government should formulate comprehensive and constructive provincial policies in order to address the potentially detrimental impacts of crime on sustainable tourism growth in the Western Cape.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie analiseer die impak van misdaad op volhoubare toerisme groei in die Wes-Kaap. Dit ondersoek toeriste se persepsies van misdaad in die provinsie en die rol van die media om hierdie persepsies te beïnvloed. Die studie gee 'n oorsig oor die belangrikste regeringsinisiatiewe en -beleide wat geïmplimenteer is op plaaslike, provinsiale and nasionale vlakke. Hierdie beleide word bespreek en geëvalueer om vas te stel of dit daadwerklik volhoubare toerisme groei in die Wes-Kaap bewerkstellig en aanmoedig.

'n Opname met 'n steekproef van 25 respondente was onderneem gedurende April tot Junie 2005. Die steekproef sluit in 13 toer operateurs, agt toerismeburo's en vier reisagentskappe, almal gebasseer in die Wes-Kaap. Die doel van die studie was om insig te kry oor die motivering en reispatrone van die toeriste wat jaarliks die provinsie besoek, asook wat hul persepsies oor misdaad is soos waargeneem deur die primêre produsente (d.w.s. reisbemiddelaars) in die toerisme produksiesisteen.

Misdaad affekteer nie net inwoners nie, maar het ook 'n impak op toeriste se gedrag en kan selfs toeriste weerhou daarvan om die land te besoek, want veiligheid en sekuriteit is van die belangrikste oorwegingsfaktore wanneer daar besluit word om 'n land te besoek. Slegs 'n paar toeriste is teleurgesteld met die misdaad situasie wanneer hulle die Wes-Kaap besoek, maar die meerderheid beskou dit steeds as 'n ernstige probleem, of selfs afskrikmiddel, in die provinsie. Hierdie persepsies is geneig om te verander nadat die toeriste die area besoek het. Respondente beskou dit egter steeds as hul plig om toeriste teen misdaad te waarsku.

Op verskeie vlakke van regering word daar voortdurend gestreef na veiligheid en sekuriteit in Suid-Afrika te verbeter. Verskeie regeringsbeleide en -inisiatiewe is al ontwikkel en geïmplimenteer, maar die meeste fokus nie spesifiek op misdaad teen toeriste nie. Veiligheid en sekuriteit word beskou as 'n voorvereiste vir 'n suksesvolle toerisme industrie, daarom moet beide inwoners en toeriste dieselfde aandag met betrekking tot veiligheid en sekuriteit van die regering ontvang. Dis egter kommerwekkend dat meeste van die respondente onbewus is van hierdie inisiatiewe om misdaad te bekamp. Die regering moet fokus daarop om 'n omvattende en

konstruktiewe provinsiale beleid te formuleer om sodoende die nadelige impak van misdaad op volhoubare toerismegroei in die Wes-Kaap aan te spreek.

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MLC	Municipal Local Council
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
NCP	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SA	South Africa
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SATOB	South African Tourism Board
SSU	Strategic Surveillance Unit
TBC SA	Tourism Business Council of South Africa
TSDG	Tourism Safety Task Group
TVIR	Tourist Victim Information Reports
UK	United Kingdom
UMP	Urban Management Programme
UN	United Nations

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATM	–	Automated Teller Machine
BAC	–	Business Against Crime
B&B	–	Bed and Breakfast
CBD	–	Central Business District
CCID	–	Central City Improvement District
CCTV	–	Closed Circuit Television
CID	–	City Improvement District
CMC	–	Cape Town Metropolitan Council
CPF	–	Community Policing Forums
CPO	–	Community Patrol Officer
CPS	–	City Police Service
CPTED	–	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
EV	–	Expectancy-value
ICD	–	Independent Complaints Directorate
LED	–	Local Economic Development
MEC	–	Member of the Executive Committee
MLC	–	Municipal Local Council
MPS	–	Metropolitan Police Service
NCPS	–	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NGO	–	Non-Governmental Organisation
SA	–	South Africa
SAPS	–	South African Police Service
SARS	–	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SATOUR	–	South African Tourism Board
SSU	–	Strategic Surveillance Unit
TBCSA	–	Tourism Business Council of South Africa
TSTG	–	Tourism Safety Task Group
TVIR	–	Tourist Victim Information Reports
UK	–	United Kingdom
UMP	–	Urban Management Programme
UN	–	United Nations

USA	–	United States of America
US	–	United States
VA	–	Value-attitude
V&A	–	Victoria and Alfred

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: TOURISM AND CRIME IN THE WESTERN CAPE

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

The Western Cape is one of the fastest growing provinces in the country in terms of its size and popularity as a tourist destination. It has been said, “the Cape Town metro area, Table Mountain, the Winelands and the Garden Route combined with the rich cultural heritage of the Province and a cosmopolitan and a fashionable international image provide the basis on which to build a world-class tourist destination” (ITDF, 2001). The Western Cape is at the heart of the country’s tourism potential and has the ability to successfully compete internationally, but much remains to be done. Sustained tourism growth in the province could mean job creation, less poverty, economic empowerment, and overall development.

However, the potential of the Western Cape means nothing without a favourable image to accompany it. A number of internal and external factors can threaten tourism growth, but crime could be perceived as one of the most threatening factors. Tourists are often vulnerable and more susceptible to crime, and incidences involving tourists usually receive extensive coverage by the media, which in turn, create or alter certain perceptions about the province or country. It is argued that “the basic starting point for the public debate about the causes and consequences of South African crime rates and the incidence and significance of particular types of crime, is that crime is a business that is bad for most other businesses and that the level and patterning of the tourist market, both national and international, is skewed by the public perception of safety” (Allen and Brennan, 2004: 155).

Therefore, this study focuses on the relationship between tourism and crime in the Western Cape and the influence of the latter on the industry. Crime and the perceptions surrounding it have been identified as a possible deterrent for tourism growth and development. This study aims to determine what role, if any, it has played on tourism in the Western Cape. The focus is also on tourist perceptions, how it is created and influenced, and whether these perceptions can be changed.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Over the last decade, tourism has become a very popular subject for research in South Africa and elsewhere, since the industry has been identified as a key sector for growth and development. Tourism is a complex, multi-faceted industry and studies have been conducted from a variety of disciplines, such as geography, architecture, education, economics, environmental sciences, business economics, town and regional planning, business administration, accounting, sociology, and political science. Examples include a study by Visser on the geography of guest houses in the Western Cape Province, a study on whale tourism in the greater Hermanus region by Bucchianeri that focuses on environmental sciences, and a study by Faasen on the development of tourism in the Vredenburg-Saldanha area from a town and regional planning point of view (Cited in Visser, 2004: 50, 67).

Studies that have been undertaken on tourism and crime differ in their focus and what they aim to achieve. Some studies have focused on the impact of crime on the tourism economy, while others looked at tourist victimisation, perceived risk or its effect on residents and tourists. Overall, both international and South African studies sought to find a link between tourism and the occurrence of crime. Generally, international studies found that not only does crime have an impact on the tourism industry, but in turn, tourism is also a factor in increasing crime rates. Similar to these findings, studies that specifically focused on South Africa, determined that crime definitely acts as a deterrent for potential tourism growth and negative publicity has done damage to the international tourism image.

An important study was conducted by William Pelfrey, which aimed to assess the relationship between types and patterns of crime and the number of visitors at selected sites. The crimes that were under observation included: murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault. The study was the result of a request by the Attorney General of the State of Hawaii, particularly Honolulu, but the study also included Nevada, Las Vegas (Pelfrey, 1998: 293-296). The study is very important and relevant, because the findings and trends could also be applicable to the Western Cape.

The timeframe of the data that was obtained from the two cities extended from 1982 to 1993. Results showed that there was no relationship between any of the serious

crimes and the number of visitors to Las Vegas. In the case of Honolulu, the data proved an inverse relationship between the two variables. The purpose of the study was to create a better understanding of the relationship between crime and the number of visitors in order to consider preventative measures and responses to fluctuations in tourist numbers. It has been argued that the biggest shortcoming of this study is the fact that the results produced even more questions than answers. Pelfrey does however recognise that “a temporal and spatial analysis of crime and tourism in selected cities could address the issues of routine activities of tourists, ‘hot spots’ of tourism, crime and the convergence of the two, and the relationship of social, economic and demographic factors which might better explain the occurrence of crime” (Pelfrey, 1998: 302).

Kathrada, Burger and Dohnal conducted a study based on a holistic tourism-crime modelling. In this study, it was contended that tourism in South Africa is a major source of income, but the inability of the government to address the factors that negatively impact the industry have resulted in lower tourism rates. The high crime levels and attacks on tourists are often well publicised, thus travel agencies and embassies have started to extend warnings to tourists travelling to South Africa. Tourists are made aware of the numerous robberies, muggings, theft, and pick pocketing, especially in the city centres of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg (Kathrada et al., 1999: 115-116).

Kathrada et al. argued that the country’s problem with crime is deep-rooted and can be related back to the history of political unrest and socio-economic realities of South African society. Expectations of wealth among the previously disadvantaged were created during the period of political transition, but these expectations were not delivered with the same enthusiasm as when they were created. This has led to frustration and consequent increases in criminal activity (Kathrada et al., 1999: 115-116).

The study made use of a very complicated, qualitative mathematical model that was applied to the city of Durban. The purpose of the study was “to identify those variables that could have a minor or major impact on the crime rate in a metropolitan area like Durban in order to develop a “rough” model that can predict the immediate

and long-term effect on tourism” (Kathrada et al., 1999: 116). The authors extracted information and patterns through deductive reasoning and used expert opinion to identify the critical factors in the study. Conclusions were balanced by non-numerical heuristics, qualitative interpretation of measurements, experience, ‘engineering feeling’, and qualitative heuristics.

Five factors were chosen for analysis in the model, which included economic, socio-cultural, infrastructure, crime and tourism. The crime factor included four indicators: crime level, strictness of the law, level of security service presence, and probability of maintaining low crime levels. The indicators for the tourism factor included time of year, weather rating, marketing of the city, effect of certain attractions, major events, number of tourists, and probability of sustaining high tourism rate. It was argued that the perception of an area is a key factor in tourist attractions, but publicity, whether positive or negative, could change these perceptions. The study found that perceptions of an area can be enhanced by a decrease in the crime level, which is in turn governed by two factors – people’s core values and strictness of law. The latter is perceived to be the most important factors to make the country more attractive to tourists (Kathrada et al., 1999: 118-122).

More importantly, the results showed that “a root variable such as strictness of the law has a more sustaining effect rather than maintenance variables such as security presence and lighting” (Kathrada et al., 1999: 120). Furthermore, it was highlighted that there is a need to rebuild the social environment to ensure its attractiveness to tourists. Durban lacks a strong enforcement system, but strict laws are required to sustain a low crime level and this could lead to an environment that is conducive to tourism growth (Kathrada et al., 1999: 118-122).

Tourism in South Africa strives to be an industry that, amongst others, promotes community development and sustainability, poverty relief, and economic upliftment as outlined in the 2001 White Paper on Sustainable Tourism Development and Promotion in the Western Cape (Capegateway, 2001). It can also be seen as a relatively inexpensive strategy to draw foreign exchange and investment into the country. Binns and Nel (2002) did not specifically focus on the issue of crime, however they recognised the potential of tourism as a local development strategy in

South Africa. Their study focused on the way economic, social and environmental resources have been used to promote tourism as a strategy to ensure local development in the country (Binns and Nel, 2002: 235).

The authors provided evidence for such a strategy through the case studies of two communities, namely Still Bay in the Western Cape and Utrecht in KwaZulu-Natal that have been consciously trying to promote local economic development (LED) and creating employment opportunities through the use of natural and cultural attractions as tourism strategies. The authors found that the two case studies illustrated the potential of tourism-led development to serve as basis for the re-orientation of local economies and to gradually address the legacy of Apartheid (Binns and Nel, 2002: 235, 240-244).

The study largely concentrated on the history of crisis in South Africa and apartheid as the motivation for the need of a new development option in the tourism sector. However, Binns and Nel acknowledged that tourism development could come at a cost to the physical environment, especially in terms of pollution, the destruction of resources, and the loss of cultural heritage. On the upside, tourism is considered to be a key LED strategy in South Africa and serves as an anchor for growing local economies (Binns and Nel, 2002: 236).

Jonathan Bloom also recognised the potential of tourism, but he noted the susceptibility of the tourism industry to high levels of crime, violence, political instability and general lawlessness. His decision to focus on these factors was based on the fact that it seems as though they appear to have the most significant impact on the industry. The literature aimed to “analyse the extent to which negative aspects may curtail the high market growth rates forecast for the South African tourism industry” (Bloom, 1996: 91).

According to Bloom, the increase in crime and violence in South Africa could be ascribed to the decline in effective law enforcement together with the rejection of the police by the majority of the population. The perception of personal safety has also been declining over the years, which acts as a further deterrent for tourism. It was recognised that crime and violence does not only affect tourist numbers, but also the

businesses that rely on tourist expenditure for their survival. Thus, “their loss in revenue could be substantial if tourists are unwilling to take risks where they are doubtful about the safety of the inner-city areas” (Bloom, 1996: 95).

Emphasis was placed on the cost of violence in terms of the loss of man-hours or decrease in productivity, but also the loss of tourist revenue for the economy. Even a slight drop in tourist numbers can have far-reaching impacts. Furthermore, Bloom and Ferreira and Harmse noted the damaging effect that negative publicity could have on the image of the country (Bloom, 1996: 97; Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80).

In an effort to address the problem, it was recommended that “the involvement of community-based organisations in the promotion of tourism-related activities, for example participation by the rural population in eco-tourism projects, could help to foster a feeling of pride and belonging and ultimately help to reduce crime and violence” (Bloom, 1996: 102). Bloom also identified seven key strategic pointers for combating tourist-related crime in South Africa. These include:

- Empowering community role players in regional tourism structures
- Formulating tourism-linked human resource development objectives
- Reconstructing sub-sectors of the tourism industry in terms of future challenges and opportunities
- Compiling fast-track programs for capacity-building in human and financial resources
- Providing guidelines for potential tourism entrepreneurs to become part of the tourism industry
- Stipulating community responsibilities and self-initiatives
- Addressing transparency and control issues (Bloom, 1996: 99-101).

It was evident from the sources that were examined that there is definitely a shortage in studies that specifically focus on the role of crime in the tourism industry. Considering the numerous studies on tourism, the above-mentioned studies on the impact of crime on tourism are in the minority and often fail to reach tangible conclusions. The reason for this trend can probably be ascribed to the lack of reliable data and statistics about crimes against tourists. Institutions and organisations such as South African Tourism and the South African Police Service (SAPS) that do conduct

such surveys are unwilling to release those statistics. This is problematic as one cannot determine the extent of a problem and solve it without admitting that there is a problem.

Further limitations arise from the fact that studies are usually based on a certain city, and not a specific province or the country as a whole. It would be unreasonable to assume that all nine provinces in South Africa face the same challenges, but they would be similar to some extent. It is vital for each province to adopt a series of solutions and to start addressing the issue of crime internally. A single incident of crime against a tourist in a certain city or province inevitably leads to negative perceptions of safety and security in the country as a whole.

Some of the literature on the subject of tourism, crime and tourist perceptions has lightly touched on the role of the media, but it is not nearly sufficient. There is a need to focus more on the role of the media in portraying the image of South Africa to the rest of the world. It is obvious that continuous negative publicity can have a detrimental impact on the tourism industry, but the reverse is also true. The media can also play an essential role in advertising South Africa as a popular and safe destination (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80-85).

Another obvious shortcoming in existing tourism literature can be identified as the lack of studies on the perceptions of tourists that visited the country. Perceptions play a significant part when tourists consider a destination for holidays, business interests or other reasons (Brunt, Mawby and Hambly, 2000: 423). It is imperative to conduct surveys and other studies on an ongoing basis to keep track of what people are thinking. Once these perceptions are known, then one can address the root of the concern in an attempt to change these views.

Another gap in the existing knowledge of tourism is the lack of studies from the viewpoint of primary producers such as tour operators, travel agencies, state destination marketing organisations, hotel operators and airlines. Studies are often conducted based on secondary material, such as books, reports and articles. This creates the challenge of generating new knowledge. This study aims to address the gap by focusing on primary producers, as they form an integral part of the tourism

production system and can provide valuable information on the industry as well as the perceptions of its consumers.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary research question of this study is: What is the impact of crime on tourism growth in the Western Cape?

Secondary research questions are:

- What are tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape?
- What government initiatives have been undertaken with regards to tourism growth and development and combating crime at local, provincial, and national levels?
- What role does the media play in creating or influencing tourists' perceptions of crime in the province?

This study aims to explore and investigate the role that crime plays in the growth of the tourism industry in the Western Cape. Visitors and holidaymakers consider a number of factors when deciding on a destination, however safety and security is one of the strongest determining factors in the decision making process. Therefore, this study looks at the impact of attacks on tourists and how crime is currently perceived by visitors to the Western Cape versus the actual reality thereof. Furthermore, this study also examines the influence and the role of the media in changing or creating certain perceptions regarding the province or country as a whole. The study also looks at the extent to which the media can influence the decision-making process to visit the country.

When focusing on the tourism sector, it is necessary to look at certain policy issues and the role that it has played in the industry. The national Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism serves as the most important roleplayer in this sector, as it not only acts as the watchdog of the industry, but also sets certain parameters. An overview of the most important state initiatives and policies that have been undertaken and implemented in the province and country as a whole are discussed and evaluated in this study to determine whether it has in fact brought or encouraged sustainable tourism growth in the Western Cape.

1.4 CONCEPTUALISATION

The key concepts that are used in this study are tourism and crime. The concept of tourism has attracted much attention as the conceptual difference between travel and tourism has been problematic. Tourism as a concept was accepted as a term from 1987 and evolved from the concept of travel. Some academics have described tourism as “the science, art, and business of attracting and transporting visitors, accommodating them, and graciously catering to their needs and wants” (Lowry, 1994: 28). Others define it simply as “tourism is in fact a significant social institution” (Lowry, 1994: 29).

However, it is believed that tourism should be considered to be different from travel as the former refers more to the industry as a whole. Tourism refers to a displacement of an individual by using any type of transportation for a certain period of time. The most widely accepted definition of tourism is that “it comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited” (WTO, 2002). This definition is the most appropriate definition for this intended study and will be directly utilised to define the concept of tourism, as it comprehensively describes the characteristics of a tourist, what a tourist is and who should be included in this study.

The concept of crime is widely used in different contexts, but it is rather difficult to formulate a single definition of crime that specifically relates to those incidents that involve tourists. For the purposes of this study, the general definition of crime will be used, which states that crime is any act that is in violation of the law. The most common form of crimes against tourists are theft, but physical and sexual assault, hi-jackings, muggings, credit card fraud, scams, rape, and even murder can also be added to the list of crimes (Glensor and Peak, 2004: 3). Therefore, all references to crime in this study will include any and all types of crimes against tourists, irrespective of whether it was reported to the police or not.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

In this study, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was used. The qualitative techniques allow for more in-depth research and a better

understanding of occurrences, while valuable deductions can be drawn. The quantitative techniques allow for a more statistical approach by providing concrete evidence for a phenomenon in terms of numbers. The combination of these two research methods would facilitate an increase in reliability in terms of the outcomes and conclusions.

A survey with a sample size of 25 respondents was undertaken during the period of April to June 2005. The sample comprises 13 tour operators, eight tourism bureaus and four travel agencies, which are all based in the Western Cape, as shown in Appendix A. Some of the tour operators and travel agencies were personally interviewed, while the rest agreed to complete the structured questionnaire in writing via e-mail (Appendix E).

The first part of the questionnaire focused on the background of the companies and the profile of tourists that make use of their respective services. Respondents were asked about tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape, how these perceptions change, and how attacks on tourists can influence tourism demand. A question about the role of the media was added to determine how tourist perceptions could be influenced. The questionnaire also dealt with issues such as legislation on crime, sustainable tourism growth and the positive and negative aspects of the Western Cape.

The sample of tour operators, tourism bureaus and travel agencies was selected based on non-probability sampling. Respondents were also randomly selected, however snowball sampling, which relies on referrals from respondents, was found to be equally useful for the exploratory nature of this study. The aim was to select a representative sample in terms of size, clientele, type of business, and location. Most of the selected respondents work with both international as well as local tourists and all respondents were located in the most prominent tourist areas in the Western Cape. These areas included: the Winelands, Overberg, Garden Route, and the City of Cape Town. An attempt was made to select respondents that specialise in different fields, such as safaris, charter buses and accommodation.

After the completion of the interviews, the answers of the respondents were analysed and compared to identify any similarities and differences. Interesting and important

responses were highlighted and a number of responses to questions were quantified in order to gain more insight based on numerical statistics.

In addition, secondary material on tourism and crime, i.e. scholarly articles, reports, media reports, and other studies were also analysed. Numerous articles, studies, reports, and books have been written about the industry itself from the viewpoint of those who recognise its potential, as well as those who consider the negative implications of tourism. Furthermore, all policy documents and initiatives on the prevention of crime in South Africa were analysed to identify its successes and challenges.

The third part of the methodology involved the incorporation of official statistics and findings from other studies to compare and analyse the results of this study with previous results. The aim is to identify any similarities or differences between the findings of this study and those from earlier studies and draw comparisons between the results. One such example is the study by Ferreira and Harmse (2000) that found a link between crime, perceptions of crime and tourism, similar to the findings of this study.

1.6 ANALYTICAL APPROACH

It is important to note that government can also be regarded as a tourism agency or producer. The process of producing tourist goods and services, and the consequent consumption thereof, requires proper infrastructure. The state has the responsibility of performing these functions, but it also exerts a huge amount of influence and acts as the regulatory institution in the production system. It has been said that, in the case of South Africa, “the attempt by th[e] country’s government to develop a tourist image that transcends this sector’s former exclusiveness, is counter to the image that actors such as international tour operators predominantly project about the country – based on the country’s natural, rather than cultural characteristics and as such an extension of the prevailing tourist image of apartheid South Africa” (Cornelissen, 2005a: 4)

The complexity of the tourism production system does not only involve the various actors, but also the numerous external factors that can impact the environment in which the system operates. Since the tourism industry is so comprehensive, previous

studies have addressed a number of these factors, which include terrorism, crime and political instability, for example Sönmez (1998), Lepp and Gibson (2003) and Hall and O'Sullivan (1996). However, this study will specifically focus on these external factors. It aims to determine the impact of the perception of risk on tourist demand and behaviour.

In the tourism production system, tour operators often establish the first essential link between the producer and consumer. Producers such as tour operators (and travel agencies) are in the privileged position to develop and portray the image of the country to tourists and the rest of the world. The operators also play a role in influencing tourists' knowledge of the country. They have the ability to decide, through the tour packages that they construct, which features of the country they want to promote and how the country will be consumed by the tourists. In other words, they help influence the geography of tourist flows (Cornelissen, 2005a: 6). Similarly, travel agencies also act as travel and tour retailers, but they do not organise their own tours.

This was the reasoning behind the choice of using interviews with both tour operators and travel agents as part of the methodology for this study. Travel agents serve as travel intermediaries and play a key role in promoting the image of the country. They fulfil very different, but also very similar functions, thus both would be able to offer interesting perspectives. Thus, this study aims to address the existing gap in studies on tourism from a primary producer's point of view.

1.7 RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Numerous tourism studies with different aims and differing points of view have been conducted throughout the years. This study on the impact of crime on tourism in the Western Cape aims to create a better understanding of the current stance of the tourism sector. The purpose is to determine what the perceptions of tourists are with regard to crime in the Western Cape and how this affects the growth of the industry. It further aims to identify the challenges that the provinces, and the country, have yet to address in order to ensure sustainable tourism growth.

Another objective of this study is to gain knowledge about the tourists that visit the Western Cape. More specifically, it aims to:

- explore tourists' likes and dislikes of the Western Cape
- gain insight into tourists' sources of information for their trips
- develop a demographic profile of the potential target market
- determine the size of the domestic and international market
- explore the motivation for travelling to the province.

Crime is not the only factor that contributes to the changing number of tourists that visit South Africa on an annual basis. Internal factors, such as the strong Rand, confidence in the economic sector, political instability, social unrest, and events like the 2010 Soccer World Cup can all be seen as attractions or deterrents for visiting the country. External factors, such as the 9 September 2001 World Trade Centre in the USA attacks and 26 December 2004 tsunami disaster in South and Southeast Asia also play considerable roles in decisions to visit a country or not. Thus, it is necessary to consider these issues and the role that they play on the growth or decline of the tourism industry.

The rationale of this study is to create a further understanding of whether crime does play a role in Western Cape tourism, what the extent of the impact is, and what solutions can be offered to improve the current situation. This study focuses on the measures that have been implemented and legislation that have been passed in an effort to prevent crimes against tourists and evaluate whether it has been successful. The significance of this study lies in the fact that it attempts to consider issues that still need to be addressed. The study will be useful, as it focuses on the Western Cape tourism sector, but the suggestions of possible solutions could also be applied to the rest of the country.

1.8 LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The biggest challenge for any study on tourism in South Africa is the fact that it is a relatively young, developing sector. Studies need to be conducted on a continuous basis to be able to identify specific trends and new developments within this sector. This study is limited by its small sample size of 25 respondents and possible broader generalisations to the Western Cape, which could have an impact on the external

validity of the study. Thus, this study should be considered as a small, exploratory study to determine the relationship between the above-mentioned factors.

With regards to the methodology of the study, the biggest advantage of the personal interviews was the direct responses and the fact that the respondents could be asked further questions based on their answers or probed to give additional information or opinions. Comparatively, the written answers were easier to process in the interpretation phase of the study, as it was mostly precise and to the point.

The type of methodology could be considered as a further limitation, as many respondents chose not to answer certain questions. Several reasons could be given for this, but in this case it is believed that the respondents either did not know the answer, or they were cautious due to the sensitive issue of crime. The reluctance to answer certain questions could be regarded as a limitation, however in the case of this study, it provided insight into the respondents' knowledge about current tourism affairs and legislation. Another limitation of this study was the fact that some respondents could not extrapolate their answers to the provincial level, as they only had knowledge about local affairs.

1.9 THESIS OVERVIEW

This chapter provides the framework for this study in terms of its focus, problem statement, research questions, conceptualisation, methodology, analytical approach, significance and rationale. Although many studies on crime and tourism have been conducted, there is still a shortcoming in studies focusing on tourists' perceptions of crime and its role as possible deterrent for tourism growth and development in the Western Cape. The interviews with the tour operators, travel agencies and tourism bureaus that were conducted in this study address the gap in studies on tourism from the viewpoint of primary producers. The rationale of this study is to determine what the perceptions of tourists are, what the extent of the impact is on tourism in the province, and to measure the success of current legislation and other government initiatives.

Chapter two provides the conceptual, theoretical and analytical framework of this study and gives an overview of existing international and South African literature that

focuses on crime and the tourism economy, tourist behaviour and the role of local residents in the tourism industry. Chapter three focuses on the results of the interviews that were conducted and considers tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape. The main focus of chapter four is on legislation and government initiatives that have been implemented to combat crime and their success regarding the protection of both local residents and tourists from incidents of crime. Finally, chapter five highlights the main findings of this study and challenges for the future, offers suggestions for future research and makes recommendations with regards to tourism growth and development in the Western Cape.

CHAPTER TWO

TOURISM AND CRIME: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Various studies on tourism and crime have been conducted in cities and states around the world, therefore it is necessary to consider both international and local South African studies to get a broad perspective of the different outcomes and lessons learnt. This chapter firstly serves as an overview of international studies that investigate the relationship between crime and tourism, their findings and shortcomings, followed by a focus on South African literature on tourism and issues of safety and security.

There are numerous approaches to the study of crime and tourism. This chapter focuses on the issues of crime and the tourism economy, crime and tourist behaviour, and the impact of crime on residents. Secondly, this chapter focuses on tourism producers and consumers and the state as regulatory institution within the tourism production system, which forms part of the analytical approach of this study. Literature indicates that any potential of a lucrative tourism industry can be hampered by the occurrence of crime, as there is a definite link between the two concepts.

2.2 THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Travel and tourism can be said to have become more focused on significant commodities over the years and involves the production of tangible goods such as souvenirs, transportation, vehicles, consumables, and accommodation, as well as intangible services through waiters, tour operators, and reservations clerks, to name only a few (Britton, 1991: 454). When considering tourism as a commodity, the focus is purely on the supply-side of the industry. Travel and tourism activities through hotels and restaurants are not only services, but can also be considered to form part of producer or support services. The supply side of tourism is only one part of a whole tourism production system. According to Britton (1991), there are a number of “enterprises, industries, markets, state agencies – a travel and tourism production system – whose overriding aim is to market not just the means to an end, but the end itself, the travel experience” (Cited in Ioannides and Debbage, 1998: 2).

It has been said that “the sheer volume of this production system, which according to numerous sources now forms the world’s largest industrial complex, is a particularly compelling rationale for the growing academic interest in travel and tourism” (Ioannides and Debbage, 1998: 2). The various economic sectors, producers and other role players in the production system have both diverging and converging interests as they collaborate or compete to produce the travel experience (Cornelissen, 2005b).

The tourism production system includes production and consumption and its broad scope allows for the involvement of a collection of industries to fulfil functions and produce products for the consumer. Britton identified three tourism activities that form part of the tourism production system. These activities include:

- (a) those activities geared to producing and selling travel and tour products;
- (b) the social groups, cultural features, and physical elements which are incorporated into travel and tourism products as attractions;
- (c) agencies for regulating the commercial behaviour and social externalities associated with such production (Britton, 1991: 455).

Britton only focused on the supply-side of the tourism production system, but for the purposes of this study it is important to also recognise the consumer-side. Tourism involves a complex interplay between different groups of producers as well as consumers. Tourism does in fact form the central linkage between producers and consumers. Tourism consumers are equally important in the production system, as they determine the demand and producers can only act so as to meet these demands and needs of the consumers. The influences, behaviour and motivation of consumers are important factors in the tourism system (Cornelissen, 2002: 28).

Tour operators often have first-hand contact with consumers and can therefore yield valuable insights into tourists’ behaviour and influencing factors. They influence tourist behaviour in four different ways: (a) by sending out certain messages in the way that marketing brochures are constructed; (b) by promoting certain destinations and locales above others through travel packages and itineraries, and limiting destination choice for consumers; (c) by acting as selectors and conduits of information (and knowledge) about destinations; and (d) in the manner in which destinations are represented (Cornelissen, 2005a: 16).

2.3 REVIEW OF EXISTING STUDIES AND CURRENT LITERATURE

Crimes against tourists have become a popular subject for research to determine whether a link can be established between crime and tourism. As Seddighi, Nuttall and Theocharous (2001) pointed out, there is also a relationship between tourism and other factors such as violence, political instability, war and terrorism. Conversely, perceived risk often has the biggest impact on tourism.

It has been argued, “the way that bombings, coup d’états, armed attacks, civil wars, attacks on tourists or even the probability of such occurrences, are perceived by tourists as the determinant factor which modulates tourist visitation and the travel behaviour of prospective holidaymakers” (Seddighi et al., 2001: 182). Similarly, Sönmez has argued that “while numerous natural and human-caused disasters can significantly impact the flow of tourism, the threat of danger that accompanies terrorism or political turmoil tends to intimidate potential tourists more severely” (Sönmez, 1998: 416).

Many studies have focused on these issues and it seems as though few tourist destinations in the world are immune to the problem. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on crime and tourism, but the impact of other factors should also be considered. Crime statistics are not easily accessible, which often makes it difficult to compile a thorough, comprehensive study about crime and its possible deterring impact on the tourism industry. Nevertheless, various international and South African studies have been conducted that deal with issues of crime, the tourism economy, tourist behaviour, and the impact on residents.

2.3.1 International studies

The majority of the international studies indicate some form of link between crime and tourism and suggest that tourists are disproportionately the victims of crime. As Chesney-Lind and Lind explained, “while increases in the numbers of tourists might lead to general increases in crime throughout the community by contributing to urbanisation and other forms of social change, it is evident that the tourist industry itself is a factor in increasing crime rates” (Chesney-Lind and Lind, 1986: 185).

It was also found that tourist behaviour or decision-making is often based on crime levels and safety and security, as these factors do have a deterring effect on the demand for tourism. The level of safety is often considered as part of the attractiveness of a destination. It has been said, “safety may be judged by the nature of the physical environment (as in adventure travel, such as white-water rafting or mountain climbing), by the potential for criminal activity (for example, pickpocketing or mugging), the possibility of being caught in a war-zone and/or by the potential for politically motivated attacks on tourists” (Hall and O’Sullivan, 1996: 105).

The problem often lies in the fact that a negative image of a destination can be created in a very short period of time, but it could take several years to overcome the effect on tourism development and investment. Studies have found that perceptions about a destination can be created in three ways, namely by word-of-mouth, media reports, and government policies. It was argued that “the more sensitive the tourists are to political instability, the more aggressive the marketing and promotional strategies, of a tourist destination should be in order to counterbalance the adverse and devastating consequences of a situation of instability” (Seddighi et al., 2001: 189).

Crime does not only serve as a factor for consideration prior to a visit, but also during a tourist’s visit to a destination and could prevent visitors from having a carefree experience. Many studies have also focused on the impact of media reports and the availability of crime statistics. It was argued that the media inevitably plays a role in influencing tourist perceptions and portrays a certain image of a country, but also has the ability to blow incidences of crime out of proportion.

Most of the studies, which focused on crime and residents, found that tourists are more likely to become victims of crimes such as property crimes, violent robbery and rape rather than residents (Barker et al., 2002; De Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999). The main reason for this argument was that tourists are easier to identify by means of their clothes, speech and behaviour. The majority of the international studies argued that tourists are usually temporary visitors to an unfamiliar place and may not be able to differentiate between so-called safe and unsafe areas, which increase their vulnerability.

(a) Crime and the tourism economy

Crises, whether man-made or natural disasters, are often unavoidable, but very little has been written about this topic and the effect that it can have on tourism in the immediate country and the industry as a whole. Gui Santana is the exception, as he discussed the general trends in tourism crises over the last two decades, assessed the impacts of man-made crises on the tourism industry, and emphasised the significance of crisis management in tourism management. His study focused on the issues of crisis definition, crisis anatomy, crisis incubation, and risk perception in tourism. These issues were explored and analysed in the context of a case study, a resort in Southern Brazil with a serious pollution crisis (Santana, 2003: 299-300).

Santana rightly stated, “where tourism destinations and/or communities have considerable economic dependence on tourism related activities, their vulnerability to crisis occurrence is significantly increased, given that they need to maintain a positive image of attractiveness for continued success” (Santana, 2003: 300). This is problematic, especially considering that tourist locations often become so-called hot spots for certain crimes, while tourists become providers of victims (Harper, 2001: 1055).

According to Santana, a crisis can be categorised in clusters, specifically psychopath behaviour, conflicts, infrastructure, communication, market, health, natural disasters, and system failures. Recent examples of crises that affected tourism in a negative way included the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in the United States of America (USA), the foot and mouth disease in 2000 and 2001 that affected England and Ireland, the corporate American accounting scandal in 2002, the floods of summer 2002 in Europe, and the Al Qaeda terrorist attacks at a nightclub in Bali in 2002 (Santana, 2003: 301-303).

It was argued that “crises usually occur as a consequence of the dysfunctional nature of an organised culture, core beliefs, values and the basic assumptions of decision-makers and the approach taken to both external and internal communication” (Santana, 2003: 303). There is not enough evidence to suggest that the tourism industry is one of the most vulnerable industries to crises. However, it is important to note that security issues have a spill-over effect in the tourism industry, thus tourists

associate a security incident with an entire region. Santana made some compelling remarks that can be applied to all countries, and he highlighted important issues through the case study and stressed the importance of an early warning system to prevent crises from occurring and effectively manage it when they do occur.

A study by Jonathan Goodrich agrees with the above-mentioned research, as it deals solely with the 11 September 2001 attacks on the USA. This research focused on safety and security in the American tourism industry in the aftermath of the disaster. It provided an overview of “the new security precautions for travellers, reasons for the security measures, their impact on travellers, future research, and marketing implications” (Goodrich, 2001: 1).

The various marketing, management, financial, economic, military, and global implications were considered. The marketing implications include increases in marketing and sales of security equipment and surveillance monitors, marketing of security personnel, teleconferencing, and telecommuting. Suggestions were made for future research questions, as this study was limited and information on this topic is in a state of expansion (Goodrich, 2001: 7-9). Although this study purely focused on the events of 11 September, it raised important issues of safety and security that can also be applied to other countries around the world.

Leong investigated the main objectives of the Conference on Improving Safety and Security at Tourism Destination that was held 18-22 August 1999 in Sweden, which included the identification of the risks associated with travel and tourism, and attempted to find ways to reduce such risks and overcome the negative consequences. The conference had focused on communities, tourism enterprises, and individual tourists, and their respective responsibility to the industry (Leong, 2001: 130).

Many issues were raised during the conference, which can be effectively applied to all tourism destinations, but those pertaining to the safety and security of tourists are of special interest – especially considering the lack of information about this issue. It is important to note that the occurrence of crime never has the same effect on tourism demand in different destinations. However, different methods can be applied to prevent the occurrence of crime, such as through legislation measures, the strict

enforcement of existing laws, safety and security training for tourists, the installation of safety devices, and education and training of local citizens. Health risks are also associated with tourism, thus food and water safety should also be considered as vital prerequisites for a successful tourism industry (Leong, 2001: 130).

It was found that tourists are often ignorant of language, customs, laws, and the dangers in a certain destination, thus it is necessary to identify those responsible for tourist safety, such as tour organisers, government bodies, third parties, and the tourists themselves. An average of 1,5% to 4% of tourists experience travel risks, such as accidents, crime, health hazards or natural disasters, on an annual basis. Lastly, it was also found that a credible rating system for food safety has the ability to increase the demand for global travel (Leong, 2001: 131-133).

Considering the fact that South Africa won the bid to host the 2010 Soccer World Cup, the study by Barker, Page and Meyer (2002) is highly applicable to this study, because it specifically focused on crime and safety issues, as well as victimisation rates of domestic and overseas tourists. Many have argued that crime and safety concerns have an impact on tourism behaviour and experiences, thus the former study examined the results of a survey on crime, reported crimes against tourists, and official police statistics that were collected during the 2000 America's Cup held in Auckland, New Zealand (Barker et al., 2002: 762-763).

The objective of the study was to determine whether the 2000 America's Cup had led to a rise in crime rates and whether overseas tourists were more likely to be victims of crime than domestic visitors. The methodology included obtaining primary data from a random survey of domestic and international tourists. Consequently, tourist victim information reports (TVIR's) were compiled. The surveys were conducted through 1003 personal interviews with non-resident tourists over an 11-week period between December 1999 and the conclusion of the Cup on 2 March 2000. Their purpose was to identify the participants' perceptions, concerns, and experiences of crime during the period of the Cup (Barker et al., 2002: 765-766).

The study yielded numerous results, of which one was that all listed crime offences, especially burglary and assaults, experienced an increase in comparison with the

previous four years for the months of October to February. It was found that the crime levels in Auckland increased by 3,3% during the Cup, while the population experienced an increase of 9,5% in international arrivals. Furthermore, results showed that “the concentrated impact of the Cup was reflected by a high incidence of behaviour, assault, and wilful damage offences, given the combination of day and night celebrations, large crowds, and the consumption of alcohol” (Barker et al., 2002: 768).

The TVIR’s sought to differentiate tourists from the aggregated official crime data, but it lacks accuracy, because many crimes still go unreported. Findings showed that 21,6% of the crimes during the Cup period were reported by domestic tourists in comparison with 78,4% by international tourists. The results also provided for interesting data on victim profiles. Europeans experienced the highest incidences of victimisation with 26,3%, while Japanese and other Asians comprised 7,8% of victims. 51,4% of all the victims were between the ages of 20 and 29 and 65,8% were male. Crimes were also more property related (98,5%), while overseas tourists were more likely to experience theft from accommodation and person. Domestic tourists were more likely to experience crime in public places (Barker et al., 2002: 770-771).

The central problem of large events such as the one mentioned above is that the environment and high concentration of people create more opportunities for crime. The greatest concern of host countries is the threat to tourist safety, because “concerns for crime and safety, whether real or perceived, can directly influence behaviour, destination choice, and satisfaction with the experience” (Barker et al., 2002: 763). The authors rightly stated that “there has been a lack of research on the spatial and temporal effects of events on destination crime rates based on the hosting of a special event” (Barker et al., 2002: 763). Thus, it can only be suggested that scholars undertake more such studies in South Africa during the World Cup to determine the viability for the industry to put in bids for future events.

In another study (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004), the advantages and disadvantages of the tourism industry were discussed. It was argued that tourism is often considered to be the preferred development option, especially in rural communities, but it can have detrimental impacts for the future. Poor communities are often forced to choose

immediate economic benefits at the expense of long-term sustainability. The study by Briedenhann and Wickens focused on the development of rural tourism routes in South Africa and the clustering of activities and attractions that could stimulate co-operation and partnerships between local areas (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004: 71).

A three round Delphi Consultation Survey was utilised as part of the methodology of the study. The 30 participants in the survey included: South African tourism academics, consultants in the field of rural tourism, public sector officials representing the various tiers of government and their agencies, members of non-governmental organisations operating in the rural tourism field and private sector tourism operators. The results of the survey were supplemented with findings from a focus group, semi-structured interviews and correspondence with tourism route developers. All of the latter substantiated the results of the Delphi Survey (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004: 74).

The authors failed to state exactly what the outcome or results of the study were, but they do however make suggestions and mention comments made in the interviews and focus group. The researchers are of the opinion that residents must be willing partners in the goal of sustained tourism in the local community. Issues such as the lack of understanding of the nature of tourism and the need for an integrated tourism industry in local government were also highlighted. With regards to South Africa, it was stated that “whilst many of South Africa’s rural communities are lacking in education and financial resources, both of which have proved insurmountable barriers to participation in the tourism industry of the past, they are rich in an abundance of flair, creativity, warm hospitality and entrepreneurial skills, which have enabled them to eke out a living in highly adverse circumstances” (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004: 77).

It was found that many communities do not realise its potential, or the value of its resources, as a tourist attraction. The focus group supported the claim that tourism route roads are the greatest tools for development and it could form the catalyst for the sale of local products. More importantly though, it was found that safety and security should be the top priority of the public sector, as development cannot attract tourists to travel to risky or unsafe areas (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004: 77-78).

Moreover, crime should have precedence over other issues, as it not only has an impact on tourists, but also on the community, businesses as well as the economy. Muehsam and Tarlow (1995) investigated the role of police departments and other law enforcement agents in combating the crimes against tourists. Their study is similar to an argument by Jonathan Bloom, which states that “well-coordinated and cooperative networking among the national tourism structures, the police, community structures and tourist information agencies and all other industry stakeholders is essential to ensure success” (Bloom, 1996: 98). The study sought to classify police officers according to their positive or negative feelings toward tourism. Their research serves as an important contribution to the understanding of the industry – especially considering the lack of information on this issue (Muehsam and Tarlow, 1995: 9).

In this study, five police chiefs, whose cities reflected different parts of the American sociological spectrum, were selected as part of the data collection method. The police chiefs had distributed the questionnaires and a 5-point Likert scale was used to measure the attitudinal perspectives of the respondents’ views toward the tourism industry (Muehsam and Tarlow, 1995: 10).

The results showed that 95% of the police understood that tourism is an asset to their city’s economy; 58,6% realised that visitor contributions to the city’s budget helped to pay their salaries; 68% did not consider tourism to be a major contributor to crime in their communities; 72,7% believed that they should go out of their way to help visitors; and only 22,9% believed that special training is needed to deal with tourists. Furthermore, the authors analysed the attitudinal responses across various demographic variables, such as age, gender, and ability to speak a foreign language. It was found that 25% of the police had strong pro-tourism attitudes, male officers were more pro-tourism than their female counterparts, and foreign-language speakers and older officers were more pro-tourism (Muehsam and Tarlow, 1995: 10-12).

(b) Crime and tourist behaviour

In a study by Brunt, Mawby and Hambly, empirical evidence was drawn from previous research that had already determined that tourism does in fact contribute to increased crime rates. In their study, they aimed to assess the nature of tourist victimisation and the fear of crime as felt by British holidaymakers. It was the

premise of the study that tourists are definitely more susceptible to incidences of crime, as they are often unaware of 'risky' or unsafe areas (Brunt et al., 2000: 417-418).

The study was conducted through a postal survey of 514 readers of the journal, *Holiday Which*. The postal questionnaire was included in a sample of mailings to the readers and a response rate of 47% was attained. The questionnaire had 90 questions that dealt with issues such as previous holidays, perceptions and experiences of crime, identification of problems while on holiday, and the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (Brunt et al., 2000: 419).

The questionnaire indicated that 44% of respondents stayed 8-14 days at their holiday destination. It was found that several factors are considered in the decision-making process of where to spend a holiday. Most respondents rated pleasant environment, good weather and scenery as their top priority, while 53,2% were influenced by a safe location. Fifty respondents (18%) cited 92 incidences of crime. Respondents were also asked about their reluctance to go out in the evening due to concerns about personal safety. The results showed little indication that fear was a reason for staying in, as only 4% cited fear of crime, 1% fear of the dark, and nobody was concerned over burglary or vandalism. Therefore, it was found that tourists did not really regard crime as an issue when on holiday (Brunt et al., 2000: 420-423).

Definitely the most important conclusion was that respondents experienced more victimisation as a tourist than they were likely to have experienced at home. A study by Harper confirmed this finding, as he found that tourists experienced more crimes, such as theft, robbery and larceny, than local populations (Harper, 2001: 1053-1055). The study was based on Miami and only found evidence that crime experience of the host population in Miami was greater than tourists, however similar results were found in Hawaii (Chesney-Lind and Lind, 1986: 167). Brunt et al. argued that "victimisation at home may be associated with the so-called 'problems' of British society; crime on holiday may be perceived more as a matter of carelessness or bad luck" (Brunt et al., 2000: 424). These studies make valuable contributions to the understanding of tourists' behaviour and the occurrence of crime and offer a wide range of reviews of existing literature on the topic.

Unfortunately, surveys have various limitations, of which one is the scope of the study. The readers of *Holiday Which* are representative of the United Kingdom (UK) holidaymakers, but are not necessarily representative of the broader public. Further, the readers were in a higher social class than the average UK adult. Questions relating to the fear of crime can be misrepresented into general concerns about the respondent's own vulnerability, powerlessness and insecurities. Due to the fact that the survey was retrospective, answers could have been influenced by later experiences. Another limitation of these self-administered surveys relate to the reliability of the study, as the questionnaire could have been given to a family member who has been a recent victim of crime (Brunt et al., 2000: 419-423).

As found by Brunt et al., safety and security are often important concerns when decisions are made to vacation abroad, which is typical of risk-averse behaviour. Andrew Lepp and Heather Gibson undertook a study to investigate the occurrence of risk-averse behaviour versus risk-seeking behaviour by tourists. Their aim was to determine whether tourists that seek familiarity perceive higher levels of risk associated with international tourism than those who only seek novelty. The twofold purpose of the study was to "identify the perceived risk factors associated with international tourism for young American adults and to determine if the degree of risk associated with each factor varies according to gender, previous travel experience or tourist role" (Lepp and Gibson, 2003: 612).

The operationalisation of the study involved a random sampling over a three-week period in 2000 to survey 200 young adults between the ages of 18 and 30 years, who were born in the USA. The sampling was completed at five high foot traffic areas at a large southeastern USA university. To ensure a more representative sample, the data was collected at different times of the day and during different days of the week. The survey was a self-administered fixed-choice questionnaire, containing four parts. Part one operationalised risk factor, in part two, respondents identified themselves in one of Cohen's four tourist roles, while part three and four asked about previous tourism experiences and demographic information respectively (Cited in Lepp and Gibson, 2003: 613). Seven risk factors, namely health and well being, war and political stability, terrorism, strange food, political and religious dogma, cross cultural crime, and petty crimes, were used as the dependent variables. Tourist role, previous

experience and gender served as the independent variables (Lepp and Gibson, 2003: 612-613).

The study found that tourists' preferences for novelty could in fact be associated with perceived risk, thus risk-seeking behaviour. It was thus found that differences among tourists in terms of novelty seeking, translate into differences in the level of risk that they perceive to accompany international tourism. Novelty seekers perceived health, war and political instability, terrorism, and strange food to be less risky than those who preferred familiarity. Gender-based differences did occur, such as men perceiving health and food to be less risky than women, but with regards to the other five factors, men and women did not differ. The study also found that less experienced tourists were more occupied with health, terrorism, and food concerns than their counterparts (Lepp and Gibson, 2003: 617-619).

One limitation of the study is that the findings can only be generalised to similar populations, as the sample was composed of US-born (United States) university students. It would be suggested that this study be repeated with people in different life stages and from different nationalities. The authors suggested that tourists with a higher tolerance for risk be targeted and tourism planners should be aware of risk factors that might cause stress among tourists (Lepp and Gibson, 2003: 619-620).

This study made a valuable, but obvious suggestion that marketers should improve the images of a destination by decreasing the perception of risk. Similarly, Sönmez also argued that "travel risk should be studied in terms of real and perceived risk and in relation to destination image and tourists attitudes, because it is crucial for destination marketers to understand perceptions and attitudes in order to devise promotional strategies to address concerns and to alter negative and reinforce positive perceptions" (Sönmez, 1998: 450).

(c) Crime and local residents

When studying the topic of tourism, it is essential to consider the various actors in the demand and supply of tourism. One of the most important role players that is often neglected in issues of tourism development are the residents of a town or city, although they hold key positions in determining the success of the industry. Lindberg

and Johnson conducted such a study that specifically focused on the relationship between the attitudes and values of residents toward tourism. By using data from a survey, they identified two related sets of specific resident models – the value-attitude (VA) and expectancy-value (EV) model (Lindberg and Johnson, 1997: 403-405).

The analysis of the study was based on responses to resident surveys in eight Oregon coast communities in the USA. The communities were dependent on its natural resource industries, but due to declines and restrictions, tourism came to play an increasingly important role. The surveys were administered to 945 residents in very diverse communities during November and December 1993. Residents were asked to list the most important perceived benefits and problems associated with tourism. The benefits were mostly economic, while the major problem was traffic congestion. 14% of the residents perceived crime or minor violations as a problem (Lindberg and Johnson, 1997: 408-409).

The authors identified a number of values that could be associated with attitudes toward tourism. These values included: economic gain; minimal disruption of daily life; adequate recreation facilities; aesthetically pleasing environment; satisfying interaction with residents and non-residents; affirmation of community/culture; influence over community decisions (Lindberg and Johnson, 1997: 403-405).

The study found that attitudes toward tourism are not associated with perceived crime and aesthetic impacts. It can however be said that the lack of relationship between these variables can be ascribed to data limitations. But, despite the fact that no relationship could be found, the residents were still disturbed by the impacts. The surveys were problematic, because many people did not consider themselves to be residents and a large number of residents refused to participate in the telephone survey. The reliability of the results can also be questioned as some residents could have associated the outcomes of tourism more negatively (Lindberg and Johnson, 1997: 417-420).

Crimes against tourists have received much attention in many parts of the world, but only a few attempts have been made to establish a theoretical basis to understand the relationship between the two. This is unusual, especially considering the emergence

of tourism as a major global industry and its related attributes, such as sustainable growth, job creation, and social and economic development. Even more cumbersome is the fact that police departments have thus far failed to distinguish between crimes against tourists and residents, which in turn increases the problem of establishing such a link.

Klaus de Albuquerque and Jerome McElroy attempted to address this gap in the literature by hypothesising that terrorism in the Caribbean was insignificant and tourists are more likely to become a victim of crime, as this is the major safety concern. Throughout the available literature, these researchers also found the link between tourist arrivals and tourist-related crimes – an increase in the former leads to an increase in the latter (De Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999: 968 – 974).

Their study included an analysis of the annual crime data for Barbados from 1989 to 1993. Three hypotheses that had emerged out of the literature were also tested. These hypotheses were: (1) tourists in mass destinations are more likely to be victimised by crime than local residents; (2) tourists are more likely to fall victim to property crime while residents become victims of violent crime; (3) victimisation rates are influenced by tourist density levels – but this was later proved to be false (De Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999: 968, 974).

The period of 1989-1993 saw very serious offences committed against tourists and the local population. They found that residents were more likely to be victimised by violent crimes and tourists by property crime and robbery – thus confirming the hypothesis. The locals were six times more likely to be murdered and assaulted than tourists, while tourists were four to six times more likely to be robbed than residents. Results also showed that “the impact of monthly visitor flows on the overall level of victimisation of tourists do not conform to what the literature suggest[ed] – namely, crime rates against them escalate during peak seasons” (De Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999: 978). Furthermore, it was highlighted that tourists were more vulnerable to criminal activity, because residents are generally more cautious, experienced and knowledgeable in terms of avoiding specific areas. Barker et al. also noted that tourists were statistically more likely to become victims of crime than locals, as the former is regarded as a more suitable target in terms of monetary or

symbolic value, visibility, access of offenders, and inertia (Barker et al., 2002: 763-764)

Although this study only focused on the Caribbean, it offers valuable insights into this present study, but it can also be applied to any country that faces similar problems. Firstly, communication among tourism interest groups should be strengthened, particularly between the police and tourism officials. The police should also have up-to-date crime statistics. Secondly, public education should become a vital measure to ensure safety for both tourists and residents. Safety advice should be distributed by hotel management and staff, taxi drivers, vendors, locals and through brochures (De Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999: 980-981).

2.3.2 South African studies

The issue of crime and tourism is definitely not restricted to specific cities or countries and any form of instability can cause irreparable damage to the tourism industry and international image of a country. South Africa is no exception and many studies have been conducted locally to determine to what extent crime has a deterring effect on the local tourism market and growth. Some of the most valuable contributions on this subject were made by Ferreira and Harmse (2000), George (2003) and Bloom (1996).

These studies found that South Africa is generally perceived as an unsafe country, especially when going out at night. Richard George found that the country has become synonymous with crime, but many visitors would still recommend Cape Town, in particular, as a safe destination. It was also found that demographic variables play a role in feelings of fear or negative experiences in the country. Probably the most valuable finding by Ferreira and Harmse (2000) was that both perceived risk and reality has the ability to cripple the tourism industry, as it causes an immediate decline in foreign tourist arrivals in the country. Furthermore, the media also plays a role in creating a negative image and perceptions of South Africa, which acts as a further deterrent for the tourism industry.

In earlier literature, Bloom made a very important, but universal argument that “in spite of the very special tourism product that South Africa has to offer and increasing

interest and enthusiasm in the international market-place, there are critical factors such as political unrest, violence and crime with the resultant risks to personal safety which could adversely affect the country's tourism potential and thus a major socio-economic lifeline for years to come" (Bloom, 1996: 93).

(a) Crime and the tourism economy

Considering the potential of the tourism industry in South Africa, it is necessary to forecast or predict tourist demand to ensure sustainable growth. Burger, Dohnal, Kathrada and Law (2001) attempted this by comparing several time-series forecasting methods to predict tourism demand for Durban. South Africa is a promising tourism destination, but tourists are more discerning about their choice of destination as quality of resources and political stability become increasingly important. The study was conducted from 1992 to 1998 by using time-series data of tourist arrivals from the USA to Durban. The aim was to create models that could predict the expected number of tourist arrivals over specific periods (Burger et al., 2001: 404).

The reason for such a study was that many perceive Durban as a security risk and the lack of safety standards has been discouraging tourists. However, forecasting is extremely difficult due to the "unpredictability of economic trends and outside events and crises such as strikes, crime, diseases outbreak, wars or disasters" (Burger et al., 2001: 404). Although the study was very technical, the creation of their model would be very useful to view trends in visitor behaviour over the long-term and to observe cyclical patterns. It would be recommended that the model be applied to various other cities or provinces, as this could yield vital information in future.

The bed and breakfast (B&B) market annually makes a big contribution towards the tourism industry in South Africa. This was also the reason for the study by Nuntsu, Tassiopoulos and Haydam on the present status, constraints and success factors of this market in Buffalo City. A telephone survey and structured questions were used together with 36 B&B operators that provided various services. Tourists regard B&B's as their 'home away from home', because it is small and personal in nature and allow them to learn more about the people and community that they visit (Nuntsu et al., 2004: 515-517).

Similar to evidence from other research, the B&B market also experienced problems, such as crime, lack of entrepreneurial skills and creativity, lack of sector focus, lack of access to finance and competition, and limited support from local authorities. The study found that 100% of the respondents regarded the lack of access to finance as their biggest constraint. 19 respondents, or 54,2%, had said that crime and violence was a constraint, but the latter received the lowest percentage of all the constraint factors (Nuntsu et al., 2004: 515-521). The study was not very comprehensive as it only looked at one small town in the Eastern Cape, but it can nevertheless set the scene for future studies.

Ferreira and Harmse conducted a study with a different focus, which is also more in line with the objectives of this study. The primary focus of their study was on tourism in South Africa and included an analysis of “the poor perception of personal safety of international tourists, the important role that tourism plays in the economy and development, the influence of crime on the tourist destination image and the tourist flows as well as the general crime pattern for 1997 as perceived risk indicator for tourists visiting South Africa” (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80).

According to Ferreira and Harmse, tourism was the fourth-highest foreign exchange earner in 1997 and accounted for 8,2% of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 1998. The study was published in 2000 and it was then estimated that the South African tourism industry expected to grow to 10% of the GDP and earning R40 billion in foreign exchange by the year 2005. This prediction was fairly accurate, as it was found that tourism contributes 7,2% of the country's GDP and earns R53,9 billion (Fairtourismsa, 2005). Similarly, it was also estimated that a million employment opportunities would be created by the same year if all inhibiting factors could be overcome. Crime was regarded as one such factor, as “widely publicised crimes committed against foreign tourists have an immediate effect in terms of declining foreign visitor numbers and the international image as a tourist destination” (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80).

The study also focused on the image of South Africa as a tourist destination and recognised the importance of a favourable destination image to ensure an effective positioning and marketing strategy. However, it was noted that “South Africa, which

desperately needs tourists to both bring in cash and create jobs, is on a list of the worlds 10 most dangerous holiday destinations” (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80). The media creates certain images and once certain perceptions have been attached to a country or city, it is nearly impossible to get rid of it. Negative perceptions of personal safety are also problematic since 60% of foreign visitors fear for their personal safety and ratings have deteriorated to 5,8% in August 1998.

The methodology used in the study was based on a quantitative research approach as mostly statistics from various institutions and organisations were utilised in drawing conclusions. The authors used four different sources in the analysis, which included all cases of serious crimes against international tourists from January 1997 to December 1998, data on crimes against tourists from the South African Police Priority Crime Database, the national crime database on the “big six” crimes for 1997, and the bi-annual survey of the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR) (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80).

Ferreira and Harmse made very valuable observations and deductions about the increasing crime trend and its consequent impact on the tourism industry in South Africa. The most important conclusion was that the government need not continue spending on the marketing of the country as a tourist destination, because people act on images, beliefs and perceptions, while continuous crime reports act as a further deterrent. A few recommendations are offered as solutions to protect tourists under the current crime situation, but more long-term solutions should also have been identified (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80-85).

Another South African study, which is very applicable to this study, was conducted by Richard George and focused on the effects of violent crime on international tourist numbers to Cape Town. More specifically, it looked at the impact of the 1998 bombing of the Planet Hollywood restaurant at the V&A Waterfront, problems in neighbouring African countries and other forms of crime on the tourism industry. He highlighted the fact that 22 bombings occurred in and around Cape Town between August 1998 and October 2000, while street crime, car hi-jackings, petty crimes and muggings have been steadily increasing (George, 2000).

It is unknown when this link between crime and tourism was first discovered, however in 1989 Crick identified six so-called S's that are prerequisites for an appealing tourist destination: sun, sand, sea, servility, sights and sex. The seventh 'S', security, was only later added. However, George noted that previous literature, dating back to 1974, has found that there is a definite correspondence between the tourist season and the crime season. Tourism has a promising future in South Africa, especially Cape Town, but it is questionable whether the wealth-creating opportunities of tourism are attainable. According to statistics from Cape Town International Airport, the actual growth in international tourists has been declining since 1995. In 1995, the number of visitors through the airport increased by 52%, by 38% in 1997, and by eight percent in 1999 (George, 2000).

On the other hand, the drop in visitors to Cape Town following the bombings are not only as a result of increased fear of violent crime, but can also be attributed to a number of other factors. During that time, the inhibiting factors included feelings of apprehension over the 1999 elections, flooding in the north-eastern parts of the country, a general reluctance to travel, and the instability and farm invasions in neighbouring Zimbabwe (George, 2000).

The methodology of George's study involved a survey with a closed-ended questionnaire that was conducted during the last week of September 1998 with fifty tourism and hospitality establishments in the Cape Town region. Following the telephone interviews, the study found a loss of 7 943 bed nights at the tourism venues, while one establishment lost 4 740 bed nights after a major conference was cancelled and relocated to Europe. Findings also revealed that 58% of the respondents felt that there was a decline in international tourist numbers. Of those, 36% believed that it was as a result of the Planet Hollywood bombing and the consequent perceived high levels of crime by visitors to the city (George, 2000).

The study concluded that the incident at the Planet Hollywood restaurant together with high crime levels did contribute to a decrease in tourist numbers to Cape Town. A combination of other factors also led to the decrease, but it was argued that "the number of cancellations coupled with the decline of visitor arrivals during the month

following the incident is a relatively valid indicator of the extent of the damage caused” (George, 2000).

It should be noted that the study was exploratory in nature and due to the “design and the limited sample size, it is not possible to claim that the findings obtained in this study are representative of the entire tourism community or that they are applicable elsewhere” (George, 2000). Nevertheless, the study offered some valuable insights into the relationship between crime and tourism and how perceived threat can have an impact on the industry as a whole.

(b) Crime and tourist behaviour

Another study by Richard George was based on experiences in the city of Cape Town. Cape Town does not only have the ability to compete internationally with any other city in the world, but its popularity also extends to South Africa, as the city has eight out of 10 of the country’s top tourist attractions and receives 52% of all international tourists that visit the country. However, the downside is that South Africa has become synonymous with high levels of violent crime and the International Criminal Police Organisation (Interpol) supports this claim (George, 2003: 575).

The purpose of his study was to investigate whether tourists who visited Cape Town felt unsafe while they were on tour and stayed in the city, and whether they limited their activities in the city as a result of their fear of crime. Furthermore, it also aimed to determine the relationship between certain personal factors, such as demographic characteristics, and perceptions of crime and safety in the city. The methodology involved the drawing of a self-administered survey with a sample size of 438 people that visited the city during the period of mid-August to mid-September 2001. The visitors to Cape Town were surveyed at three popular attractions in the city, which included the V&A Waterfront (Victoria and Alfred), the Cape Town Tourism Information Centre, and the Cape Town International Airport (George, 2003: 575, 579).

The survey found that 71.4% of the respondents were ‘very likely’ or ‘likely’ to recommend Cape Town as a safe destination and 49.7% felt safe during the daytime. This is in comparison to a study by Milman and Bach on the impact of security

devices on tourists' perceived safety that found a 95.7% majority of respondents would recommend Florida as a safe destination for tourists. In Cape Town, some tourists felt unsafe to go out after dark and to make use of the public transport and it is argued that "the presence of informal parking attendants and street children that roam the city by day and night may have contributed to visitors negative perceptions" (George, 2003: 581). This finding is similar to the results of a study conducted in Washington, which revealed that 38.8% of the tourists felt unsafe after dark.

Results also showed that personal factors, such as the nationality of the tourist and his/her previous experience of crime do affect perceptions of safety and security. Younger visitors to the city were more likely to feel unsafe than older visitors, while gender proved to be relatively neutral in terms of affecting visitors' perceptions of the city. This finding is in contrast to other literature that has found women to be more fearful of walking in the streets after dark. With regards to the nationality factor, the study also found that 37.5% of those that were 'very unlikely' to recommend Cape Town as a safe destination, are from Britain. Furthermore, it was found that media coverage on certain incidents does contribute to creating negative perceptions (George, 2003: 583).

The value of this study lies in the fact that it does offer a number of preventative measures to reduce visitors' fear of crime. The study clearly states the main challenges that the city has to address. Unfortunately, the scope of the study is too narrow by only focusing on Cape Town, thus making it difficult to generalise and apply the study to the rest of the province. Another weakness of the study is the self-administered survey method, as this leaves the researcher without control over the process. Such questionnaires could have been handed to someone who has had an encounter with crime, thus reducing the validity and reliability of the study. A further limitation of the research was that the questionnaire failed to ask respondents at what stage of their visit they were. This could have made a difference to the outcome of the study as people's perceptions change regularly (George, 2003: 584).

Researchers should take good care when conducting a survey on crime, because the sensitivity of the issue could evoke feelings of anxiety that can misconstrue the results. The environment of three different attractions where the questionnaires were

placed could have influenced the outcome, as it is considered to be relatively safe locations. Lastly, any research on crime runs the risk of being unreliable as previous experiences of crime change perceptions (George, 2003: 584)

2.4 CONCLUSION

Considering the various studies that have been conducted over time and in different parts of the world, all of them have one common theme – that there is in fact a relationship between tourism and the occurrence of crime. Tourism has many advantages, however risk, crime, and instability can have a detrimental effect on the sustainable growth of this industry. Crime does not only affect residents, but also has an impact on tourist behaviour and deters visitors from visiting a country, as most tourists are risk-averse and consider such factors when deciding on a destination. Considering the negative image and perceptions of South Africa as a dangerous and unsafe place, previous studies on crime and tourism in the country would seem to suggest that this be addressed with great urgency in order to market itself as a major international tourism power.

CHAPTER THREE

TOURIST PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME IN THE WESTERN CAPE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports on the empirical analysis of the relationship between crime and tourism in the Western Cape. It focuses on the twenty-five research interviews that were conducted with a number of tour operators, tourism bureaus and travel agents between April and August 2005. The purpose of the chapter is to consider the different views on crime and tourist perceptions to form arguments and draw conclusions based on the range of insights provided by the respondents.

The chapter follows a phased approach by discussing the different themes or categories as they emerged from the data. The aim is also to study the main findings regarding tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape and revisit the research questions of this study to conclude whether new insights have been generated. The main finding of this chapter is that the majority of tourists and respondents regard crime as a serious problem in the Western Cape, but it is believed that the media plays a major role in influencing these perceptions.

3.2 PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

As part of the research methodology, the sample included interviews with 13 tour operators, eight tourism bureaus, and four travel agencies. Appendix A provides a list of all the respondents, their location, and the date of the interview. The respondents are spread across the Western Cape and were chosen to represent the various regions in the province. A total of nine respondents are located in the Cape Town Peninsula area, seven are from the Winelands, six are from the Garden Route, 2 are on the West Coast, and one respondent is located in the Breede River Valley, as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Location	Respondents			
	Tour Operators	Tourism Bureaus	Travel Agencies	Total
Cape Town Peninsula	5	1	3	9
Winelands	4	2	1	7
Garden Route	4	2	-	6
West Coast	-	2	-	2
Breede River Valley	-	1	-	1

The profile of the various tour operators differed significantly and with the exception of one, Green Rhino, most of them specialised in tours within the Western Cape. Some of the tour operators offer half-day tours, full day tours, private tours, and/or garden route tours. The latter applies to Hylton Ross Touring, Go Cape Tourism Services, Elephant Hide Tours and Transfers, and Cape Escape Tours. In the case of Hylton Ross Touring, they also offer various coaches (49, 44, 28, 22, and 19 seaters), 15 seater Sprinters, 7 seater mini buses, and chauffeur driven sedans.

Hakuna Matata Tours does self-drive and guided tours in Cape Town, the Garden Route, and Route 62. But, they also arrange Addo Elephant Park safaris and Botswana safaris. Both Cape Escape Tours and Out of Africa Safaris also offer safari packages. MINWES Tours offer their clients customised route planning and team building or motivational sessions. Selftours is an Internet based tour designer of self-drive and group guided tours. Malachite Tours concentrate more on senior or older generation South Africans and German tourists, while Stellenbosch Adventure Centre focus more on adventure sporting activities. Lastly, Featherbed offers eco experiences on the Knysna Lagoon and is an activity operator. Their products include experiences in the Featherbed Nature Reserve, paddle cruises, catamaran yachting, John Benn (a floating restaurant), and family or educational trips.

The profile of the four travel agencies is fairly similar in the sense that the majority specialise in outbound tourism. In the case of Maties Travel, 99% of their business is corporate, outbound tourism. Sure Travel works with 90% outgoing and 10%

incoming tourists whereas the ratio at V&A Travel is 60% outgoing and 40% incoming. The client base of N.E.W.S. Travel is averaged at 50% outgoing and 50% incoming, but it is difficult to approximate, as many of the outgoing tourists are locals from Franschhoek but not necessarily South African residents. According to Elmarie Meintjes from N.E.W.S. Travel, a lot of Franschhoek residents are referred to as “summer people”, because they are originally from another country, but they live in Franschhoek for the six months of summer and then go home for six months.

3.3 RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS

This section contains details about the interviews that were conducted with the respondents. The sub-sections deal with different issues as they arose out of the data. Various comparisons will be drawn and similarities sought between respondents as well as between the different groups of respondents. The sub-sections provide insight into the views of tourists, tour operators, tourism bureaus and travel agencies.

3.3.1 Profile of tourists

The tour operators and tourism bureaus were very helpful in providing percentages or ratios in terms of the tourists that make use of their services. Table 6.1 and 6.2 in Appendix B show the differences and similarities in the number and nationalities of tourists that make use of tour operators and tourism bureaus. From Table 6.1 it is clear that the majority of the tour operators’ clients are foreigners. Only two out of the thirteen operators, MINWES Tours and Elephant Hide Tours and Transfers, have a ratio where the South African clients outnumber the foreign clients.

When focusing on the nationalities of tourists it is clear that foreign tourists from all over the world visit South Africa. These include English, Germans, French, Australians, Dutch, Asians, Irish, Japanese, Chinese, Swiss, New Zealanders, and Americans. The majority of the respondents said that most of their international clients originate from the UK. A lot of European clients also visit South Africa, but more than half of these European visitors are from Germany. This pattern of English and Europeans tourists visiting the country can be attributed to various reasons, but direct foreign airline departures and other flight programmes by local airlines are the most important factors. This is consonant with the general pattern of tourist arrivals as provided for by official data from Statistics South Africa. In 2004, the majority of

tourists that visited the country came from Europe (97 087 visitors), which includes 19 890 visitors from Germany and 30 565 from the UK (Statistics South Africa, 2004: 10).

Previous studies have also found similar results with 26% of visitors originating from the UK and 12% from Germany. In addition, some studies have shown that 21% of tourists to Cape Town are from the USA. These countries have all been included as the main target markets of SA Tourism (George, 2003: 580). In an earlier study, Richard George found that 44% of international tourists are from the UK and 40% from Germany. Comparatively, another opinion survey reported that the majority of visitors to the Cape Town area originate from European countries, while only 30% are from the UK (City of Cape Town, 1994: 8).

It was interesting to note that Horwath Tourism and Leisure Consulting found that nearly 75% of all foreign arrivals in South Africa in 2000 were arrivals from other African countries, but none of the respondents in this study deals with visitors from Africa. This can lead to the question of whether South Africa's tourism target market should not be revisited – especially considering that African visitors spend equal amounts of money to UK visitors and more than German visitors. Furthermore, it was found that although the UK is the country's largest overseas source market, "United Kingdom arrivals in South Africa comprise only 0,6% of total United Kingdom outbound travel..." (Horwath, 2001: 4). Thus, the opportunities for growth in this sector are substantial.

Appendix C provides an indication of the ages of tourists as provided by the respondents. A very logical pattern can be seen in the standard age groups for both tour operators and tourism bureaus. Among the tour operators, the average age was 30 to 65. Two respondents mentioned that some of the tourists were 68 or up to 80 years of age. The latter is in line with a study by Richard George, which found that only 4% of his sample was 65 years or older, but comparatively, 32% of the respondents were aged between 25-34 years (George, 2003: 580; SA Tourism, 2004: 83). In this study, the picture looks very different when focusing on the ages of tourists visiting the tourism bureaus. The ages of their visitors vary from very young to very old, as families usually visit these bureaus.

On average, tourists stay in the Western Cape for approximately one to two weeks, but respondents varied quite significantly in their answers on tourists' duration of visit. This finding was in line with other international studies, which found that tourists usually spend 8-14 days at their destination (Brunt et al., 2000: 420). In this study, some said that tourists visited the province for three days, while others said 10 days, three weeks, or even three months. In the case of N.E.W.S. Travel, their clients usually stay in Franschhoek, or other places in the country, for nearly six months for the duration of the summer. Sure Travel noted a difference in the duration of visit between international and domestic tourists. The latter stays in the Western Cape for a longer period of time over the holiday seasons, whereas international tourists only visit the province for one week.

In the case of Stellenbosch Adventure Centre, their clients spend an average of three weeks in the Western Cape, but they also have a large number of international students as clients who stay for six months to a year. Respondents were also asked what duration visitors stay in the rest of South Africa. Only six respondents gave an answer to this question, but it seems as though the majority of the tourists' visit to the country is spent in the Western Cape. The remainder of the visit could vary anything from one week or 10 days to an additional three weeks. A survey conducted by South African Tourism determined that the average stay of foreign tourists in South Africa was 10 days (SA Tourism, 2004: 36).

Tourists are often mistaken to be purely on holiday, but tourists also visit the country for business purposes. Therefore, it was necessary to ask respondents what the main reasons for their clients' visits to the province were. The responses of the four travel agencies to this question were excluded from the results, as they could only give an opinion based on incoming as well outgoing tourists. After considering the remaining 21 responses (see Appendix D), it was found that in 100% of the cases, the main reason for tourists' visit is leisure.

The majority of the respondents answered that leisure was the only reason for tourists' visits to the Western Cape. Only one respondent did not respond to the question and the remaining eight respondents said that tourists visit the province for both leisure

and corporate reasons. An interesting response was received by Patrick Dupond who said that 'holiday' tourists visit the country in the period of October to March, while tourists who visit for corporate reasons are usually in the Western Cape from April to September.

A market survey of travel patterns of domestic tourists by the Western Cape Tourism Board showed that more than 80% of the tourists visit the province for holidays or to visit friends or relatives (Kellas, 1999). Similarly, another study indicated that in 2000, nearly 85% of South Africa's foreign arrivals were for holiday purposes and 10% for business (Horwath, 2001: 6). Thus, the majority of studies show that South Africa is mostly regarded as a holiday destination.

3.3.2 Crime

Crime in the Western Cape forms the central focus of this study, thus respondents were asked what tourists' perceptions of crime are and whether their perceptions changed after their visit. Responses did not differ significantly and could be divided into five categories: crime is a problem, crime is not a problem, unaware of crime, don't know, and other.

Table 3.2

Perceptions	Tour operators	Tourism Bureaus	Travel agencies	Total	%
Crime is a problem	10	2	2	14	56
Crime is not a problem	2	2	1	5	20
Unaware of crime	-	1	-	1	4
Don't know	-	1	1	2	8
Other	1	2	-	3	12

Table 3.2 shows that most of the respondents, 56%, are of the opinion that tourists perceive crime to be a problem in the Western Cape. 20% responded by saying that tourists do not believe that crime is a problem. Knysna Tourism was included in the 'crime is not a problem' category, however, it should be noted that their response only

referred to crime in the Knysna area, and not the province as a whole. According to the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Knysna Tourism, Craig Nancarrow, Knysna has a very small and limited crime problem and the town is well-suited for walking about in a secure environment.

Johnathan Muller from Hylton Ross Touring said that it seems as though people perceive the country to be a dangerous place. He speculated that travel agents could be responsible for creating these perceptions by what they tell their clients. Conversely, Green Rhino African Travel noted that tourists ask them about the crime situation, but that visitors generally know that crime exists just as in any other large city. Mike Vermeulen from Maties Travel offered a different perspective by saying that it seems as though the issue of crime bothers the locals a lot more than it bothers the tourists. He said, “when seeing another article on the front page of a newspaper about an attack of a tourist on Table Mountain, one cannot help to feel guilty and wonder what image of South Africa they are taking back to their own countries and whether they would consider returning”. Simone de Kock from Stellenbosch Adventure Centre said that tourists are aware of the crime situation, but they are not too concerned until they experience it personally.

Some of the respondents also gave their own opinion on who they thought should be responsible for the safety of the tourists. JP Wessels believes that tourists’ safety starts with the tour operator and the tour guide. Neil from Easy Rider Tours also spoke from a backpackers lodge viewpoint and said that although he does everything to secure the premises, the responsibility also lies with the tourists themselves. He said that tour operators should do everything in their power to make their clients feel safe and comfortable. According to him, the ultimate decision should be made whether the country wants tourism or not. Both Knysna Tourism Bureau and Hylton Ross Touring said that safety should be a joint effort. In the case of the former, the responsibility should be shared between the visitor and the destination that he/she is visiting.

In response to the question of whether tourist perceptions about crime changed after a visit to the Western Cape, 80% of the respondents believed that the perceptions did change. Table 3.3 shows that only two tour operators were of the opinion that the tourists’ views about crime did not change, while two respondents did not know.

Helen Smith from Featherbed said that tourists are initially quite nervous and then once here, they realise that the situation is not as bad as the media portrays it internationally. However, they are always cautious and do not deviate from them. One respondent chose not to answer the question.

Table 3.3

Did tourists' perceptions about crime change after their visit to the Western Cape?					
	Tour operators	Tourism Bureaus	Travel Agencies	Total	%
Yes	10	6	4	20	80
No	2	-	-	2	8
Don't know	1	1	-	2	8
Unanswered	-	1	-	1	4

Some of the opinions were that tourists soon recognise after their arrival that the crime situation is not as bad as they initially thought, but that they still had to be careful as in any other large city. Many tourists have said that they had forgotten about it once they arrived in the country. Other tour operators commented that tourists soon realised that crime in their own countries are often far worse than in South Africa. When returning home, tourists appreciate the South African way of life more and they also become more appreciative of their own way of life. Comparatively, another study found the opposite that "respondents who were first time visitors to the Cape Town area (74%), were more positive about personal safety than respondents who were visiting for the fourth time or more (57%)" (City of Cape Town, 1994: 43).

Peter Warner from Hakuna Matata Tours in Knysna spoke not only from a tour company's point of view, but also from seven years experience as a guesthouse owner in the region. He believes that almost everyone is surprised about how peaceful South Africa is compared to their own perceptions before visiting the country, especially since all of them were apprehensive about coming at all. Most of the tourists said that they would definitely return after realising that it is not as bad as they thought. According to him, the perceptions are probably instilled in the tourists from the days

of apartheid when riots and major changes were taking place frequently. Furthermore, the present day media portrayal of South Africa, and Africa as a whole, is not very constructive. He also wonders whether the political circumstances in Zimbabwe could cause a lot of the perceptions. Peter Warner said that “much the same as early childhood perceptions of Africa are lions and elephants roaming the streets, it is impossible to change that until the tourist visits Africa themselves.”

Pierre du Toit from Malachite Tours also agreed that tourists were definitely more positive after their tours. These positive perceptions are created by observation and interaction with local communities. He is of the opinion that it is the responsibility of tour operators to create a positive image of the province and country. Fuad Peters, Cape Town Visitor Services, said that initial perceptions are usually negative in nature, especially among domestic travellers, due to the role of the media. Nonetheless, people usually leave with a changed perception after they have visited their offices and have seen and experienced the areas. Furthermore, he said: “my assumption to why international travellers come to South Africa is to get the experience these areas are portrayed to be like, and most often [they] are here to help to change the status of some of these areas.”

3.3.3 Attacks on tourists

Although it is essential to establish what people’s perceptions of crime are, it is equally important to establish how vulnerable tourists are to incidences of crime or attacks from the viewpoint of tour operators, tourism bureaus, and travel agencies. Respondents were asked whether they have had to deal with any attacks on tourists and what happened. Table 3.4 shows the responses by respondents within three categories: yes, no, and unanswered.

Table 3.4

Have you had to deal with any attacks on tourists? What happened?					
	Tour operators	Tourism Bureaus	Travel Agencies	Total	%
Yes	3	3	-	6	24
No	10	5	3	18	72
Unanswered	-	-	1	1	4

As is evident from Table 3.4, the majority, or 72%, of the respondents have not experienced any attacks on tourists. Only one travel agent did not give an exact answer to the question, while 24% said that they have had to deal with attacks on tourists.

Many respondents said that they have only had isolated incidents of petty crimes. For instance, Peter Warner said that they have not had one serious problem in seven years except for some cases of petty theft. Simone de Kock also said that their clients have not experienced any attacks as such, but more robberies of wallets and cell phones. Donovan from Franschhoek Wine Valley and Tourist Association also mentioned that they have had no attacks, but tourists have lost their luggage, wallets, handbags, and traveller's cheques. One travel agent said that such attacks rather happen on individual tours and not when the tourists move in groups. Pierre du Toit has only had to deal with attacks on tourists when they visited Namibia.

According to Charlie Joubert, only one tourist has been attacked in the Montagu area. She said that it was an isolated incident and the tourist had stones thrown at her from the top of a cliff while walking in a remote park on the edge of the town. Fuad Peters answered that they are aware of instances where tourists were attacked. In the last year, two muggings had occurred in the Muizenberg area, but the victims were in areas not visible to the public and had valuable items with them. The attacks on Table Mountain mostly occur in a similar manner, as victims are on their own and have valuables with them.

Judy Krohn from Judy's Tours paints a very different picture that such incidences are not isolated cases, but happen on a regular basis. One reason given by her was that the Waterfront now has easier access for vagrants and 'street people'. She said that she has had "people physically bumped and accosted as they are obviously soft targets with their cameras etc". The added problem is that tourists often want to give money to the street people, because they feel sorry for them. This only worsens the situation that the whole country has to face, but Judy Krohn suggests to her clients to pay the money into reliable funds instead. Other negative experiences have included being followed and harassed in the Company Gardens and in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town. She also said that parking attendants are often very belligerent. Importantly, she noted that "some people are beginning to realise that Cape Town has city crime, so I would not say that the Western Cape can be judged as bad; it is the city, and the lack of police and others that make it easy for attacks on pedestrians".

Mike Vermeulen also mentioned the vulnerability of tourists due to the fact that they carry their cameras around their neck and other identifying features. It is important to consider whether one attack on a tourist is not one too many. On the upside, he noted that Maties Travel has had no travel cancellations from inbound tourists as a result of certain incidents. The only cancellations have been done by outbound tourists due to the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) virus, the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, and the recent tsunami disaster.

Helen Smith from Featherbed said that no attacks on tourists have happened close to their organisation, but any attack on a tourist is extremely bad for the industry. She believes that South Africa is currently perceived as a safe destination and events in Europe have afforded us that privilege. But, "if the attacks on tourists increase, the damage will be irreparable and less people will want to return, let alone come to South Africa". However, in contrast to this view, Pierre du Toit stated that South Africa is no longer considered to be a safe destination.

To the same question, Craig Nancarrow responded that he does know of attacks on tourists, but "tourists are in the same boat as Joe public as regards crime, however they are a target purely due to the opportunity that might present itself. However, the

seasoned traveller is aware of and sensitive to the fact that crime is a problem throughout the world and must attempt to keep informed and aware”.

Respondents were also asked whether attacks on tourists would prevent them from visiting the Western Cape again. Only a small number of respondents answered this part of the question, but opinions differed widely. Three tour operators were of the opinion that a fright or bad experience would deter anyone from returning to any country. Conversely, another tour operator believes that attacks on tourists would not prevent them from returning, but it would make them more aware and think twice about visiting the same area.

Fuad Peters said “one would assume it would deter visitors from revisiting an area, but in most of these instances, visitors always think of coming back to visit the city and surrounds”. Charlie Joubert also did not think that such attacks would stop tourists from coming back unless the severity of the attack is very high. Melina Constance also did not believe that attacks would have such an influence on tourists.

These responses were very surprising – especially considering that the obvious reaction to an attack would be not to return to the country. Whether it was an isolated case in a remote part of town or not, people often generalise their experiences to the rest of the country. An attack on a tourist could also have a spiralling effect in terms of deterring others from visiting the country.

After the completion of the interviews with the respondents it became clear that the question regarding attacks on tourists could pose serious problems for the validity and reliability of the data, as the understanding of ‘attacks’ could have been misconstrued. The other problem that this question could pose is the truthfulness of respondents’ answers. The purpose of the question was merely to determine how often tourists are attacked according to the respondents, but the latter could have withheld information out of fear from being judged by it.

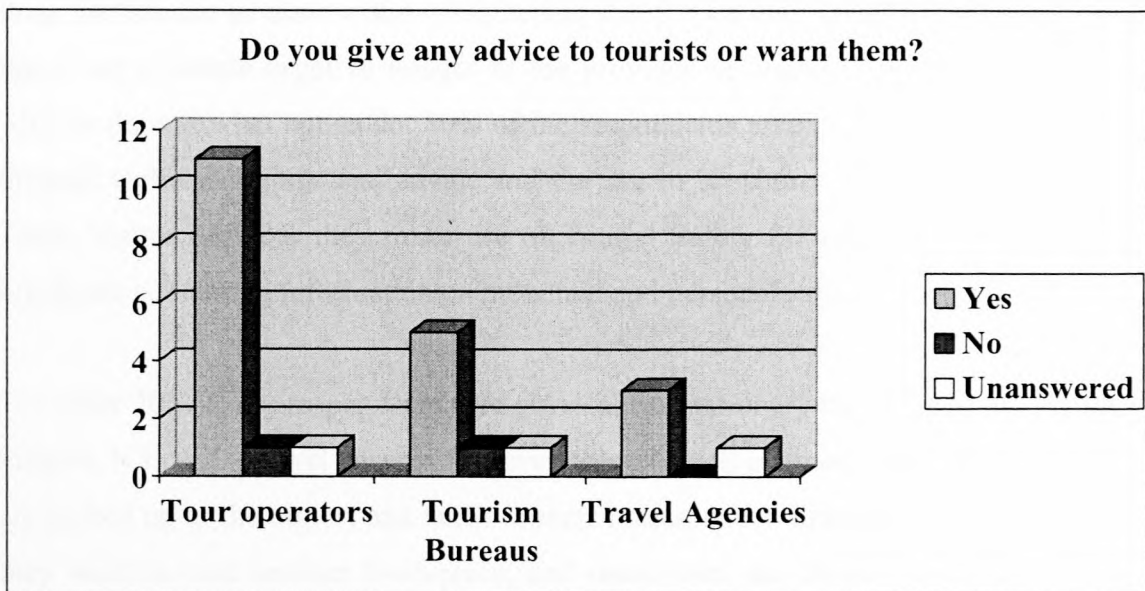
Nevertheless, Elmarie Meintjes from N.E.W.S. Travel made a very noteworthy comment when she linked the safety of tourists with wealth. She said that many of their clients are very wealthy people who stay in 4 or 5 star hotels and South Africa is

often not the first overseas country they visit. Thus, the tourists are well travelled and well informed of what to do and what not to do. According to Elmarie, their clients are much more protected than the average tourist on a budget, as they stay in expensive accommodation, where the security is much better, and can afford to move around in so-called safer and wealthier areas. Often, these tourists are chauffeured around town, which also reduces the risk of being attacked. Her opinion is, “in South Africa, you get what you pay for”.

3.3.4 Precautionary measures

The 2003 Annual Tourism Report found that 50,8% of respondents had no concern prior to their visit to South Africa. However, 14,2% were concerned about hijackings, 13,8% about inadequate security, 9,2% about muggings, and 2,6% about violence (SA Tourism, 2004: 39). Considering these statistics, it was necessary to ask respondents what, if any, precautionary measures do they take to protect tourists while on tour and whether they give any advice to tourists or warn them. Figure 3.1 is an illustration of the responses by the tour operators, tourism bureaus and travel agencies.

Figure 3.1



According to figure 3.1, a total of 19 out of the 25 respondents, 76%, said that they do warn the visitors when making use of their services. No reasons were given as to why such warnings are given, but obligation or the feeling of responsibility could play a role.

Only two respondents said that they did not warn or give advice to tourists regarding their safety. In the case of Featherbed, an activity operator, it is not necessary as most of their precautionary information revolves around the personal safety of the client when using the vessels. The other respondent was Charlie Joubert from the Montagu Tourism Bureau. They only caution people not to hike or walk alone in the mountains, but that is purely to ensure that they do not injure themselves and that there is someone on hand to get help. One respondent from each group did not answer the question.

36% of the respondents advise the tourists not to wear too many or expensive jewellery and to keep all other valuables such as cameras and wallets out of sight. Tourists can usually be spotted easily as they have their cameras with them, which make them instantly vulnerable to crimes of theft. Two tour operators had similar advice to give to tourists: “be just as careful as you would be in any other city in the world”. Although it is logical and simplified, as stated by Joan Shaw, many respondents do warn tourists not to walk alone at night or in badly lit streets.

Two tour operators stated that it is important to inform tourists in order to protect them, but should be done without frightening them. As a tour operator, care should be taken not to create negative images of the province or country by advising tourists what to do and what not to do. 80% of the respondents take precautionary measures through verbal warnings and advice and the use of brochures and leaflets. At Cape Town Visitor Services they make use of Tourist Safety Information brochures and brochures containing information on mountain and personal safety.

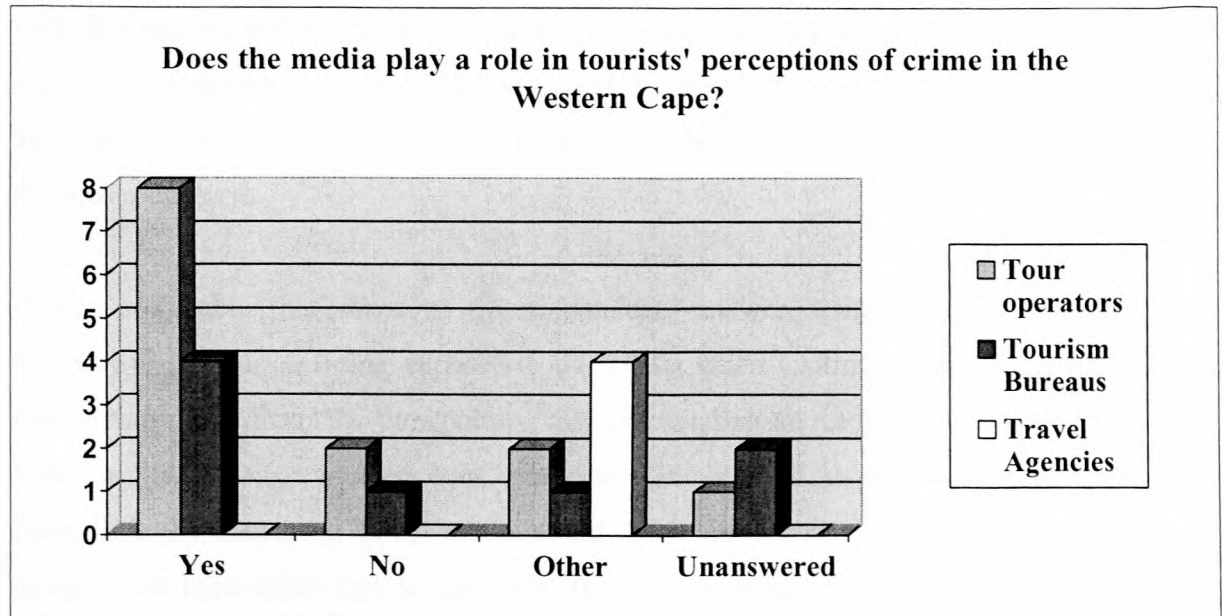
The other 20% of the respondents take physical precautionary measures to protect the visitors. N.E.W.S. Travel ensures that everything is well planned in advance. Tourists are picked up at the airport and taken to their hotels, exact directions are given when they want to visit another town/place, and restaurants are chosen in so-called safe areas. Judy Krohn pays attention to the smaller things such as locking car doors and closing windows when driving in the city or stopping at traffic lights. George Tourism Bureau also applies certain measures, but they also have a safety and security plan in place that is activated in the case of an incident – whether an accident or a crime.

Hylton Ross Touring would also make certain decisions and alter their itineraries when, for example, attacks on tourists have occurred at a specific destination that is included in their routes. The aim is to keep the tourists safe. Similarly, Go Cape Tourism Services also take many precautions, such as using specific routes that are less prone to criminal incidents. They also have passenger liability insurance for ten million Rand.

Similar to the findings of this study, another study also found that the majority of respondents or their staff give advice to the visitors. In the study, it was found that 62% of the respondents said that the staff at their tourism or hospitality establishments, who come into contact with the tourists and work at the front desk or as tour guides, do provide advice to guests. Their advice to tourists would be not to look like a tourist, not to walk in the city at night, or not to carry valuables with them. The results of the study also showed that 12% of respondents do not warn the guests, because they did not want to frighten them or it was not deemed necessary (George, 2000).

3.3.5 Role of the media

Considering the fact that the media is at the forefront of reporting incidents of crime and changes in the crime statistics, it is important to establish what role the media plays in creating or influencing tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape. Most of the respondents firstly stated whether they thought that it does play a role or not and this was followed by an explanation of what the role entails. Figure 3.2 illustrates these findings.

Figure 3.2

A total of twelve respondents believe that the media does play a role in tourist perceptions, while three said that it does not play a role. Those that regarded it as a small role said that the tourists are not really exposed to the media as they rarely read a newspaper or watch television. Pierre du Toit from Malachite Tours said that the latter applies especially to the Germans, because they are more interested in nature and many of them do not understand the language. Lydia from Paarl Tourism also believes that the media does not influence tourists' decisions or perceptions as she stated that "if they want to visit, they [will] visit the area". One tour operator and two tourism bureaus did not respond to any part of the question regarding the media.

Peter Warner from Knysna Tourism Bureau is of the opinion that whilst South African newspapers will put crime on the front page, it will receive high-level attention from overseas media. Helen Smith from Featherbed said that people often hear about an attack overseas that has happened here and they cancel their trip to the country, because they are worried that it might also happen to them. One tourism bureau stated that the European media is generally kind to the country in terms of their portrayal of an incident, while the USA is not so kind, but the bureau has found that regular travellers know that they should be careful in any country.

On the other hand, Steve Prior from Selftours believes that 2% of the respondents still have some strange ideas and fear of crime. He said "a few years back, overseas

magazines sold well if they had headlines on crime in South Africa – that has worn very thin and the editors have realised that it does not sell magazines anymore – now overseas magazines only sell if they say good things about South Africa”. JP Wessels said that tourists know that they must differentiate between reality and the stories that the media portrays.

It was noticeable that some of the respondents answered the question from the perspective of tourists being exposed to the media when visiting the province, while others responded from the viewpoint of tourists reading about crime in the Western Cape or South Africa in their own countries. This is valid, as the two perspectives have different outcomes. Local media could deter visitors from coming back to the country, but most often they would only alter existing perceptions, as the reports can be compared to reality. Overseas media would definitely have the ability to scare off potential tourists depending on the reporting.

The media does have the responsibility of bringing news to the people, but journalists can be harsh and can often do more harm to the country’s image than good. Johnathan Muller supported this idea by mentioning that the media does not always put things into perspective, because reports are sometimes blown out of proportion. Patrick Dupond also argued that media reports should be more filtered. Furthermore, Craig Nancarrow said, “media will always play a huge part in generating public opinion due to the need for a sensationalistic approach, which is the nature of the beast”. At Cape Town Visitor Services, Fuad Peters believes that the “media plays a major role for this matter and quite often it is very distorted as the crime levels are always the main topics and the few tourists that have been victims are very low compared to the amount of visitors to the region”. Similarly, Donovan emphasised it is important to have honest and responsible journalism, which does not label the rest of the country.

Mike Vermeulen from Maties Travel noted that the media can exaggerate, but news coverage on big disasters is essential, because people should know what is going on. However, he also acknowledged the positive aspects of the media. He believes that the victims of the tsunami in Indonesia and surrounding areas would not have received nearly as much international help and relief if it were not for the gruesome pictures in the media. Comparatively, Charlie Joubert from Montagu Tourism Bureau

believes that the role of the media should be revisited, as foreign media tend to highlight the worst-case scenarios and “brainwash” people into thinking that the whole of South Africa is like that.

It was interesting to find that two respondents do not regard the written word as having a big role locally and believe that news generally travels by word of mouth. Elmarie Meintjes said that most of their clients get their information or form perceptions based on the stories told by their families and friends. Tourists have a mutually reinforcing effect on each other – if one tourist is impressed by his/her experiences in the country, he/she will tell everybody in their country, and before long, they all come to visit South Africa.

In one of the studies by Richard George, the marketing manager of the V&A Waterfront, Maureen Thomson, acknowledged that crime does affect international tourist numbers. She said, “most definitely, crime is the number one deterrent...the bottom line is that South Africa is a dangerous place to visit” (George, 2000). Similar to the majority of opinions by the respondents in this study, she also believes that media does play a role in the decline of tourist numbers. Her opinion was, “whenever there’s any trouble here in South Africa it gets plastered all over the world; perceptions are created that it’s a war-torn country similar to Northern Ireland” (George, 2000).

3.3.6 Attitudes to Western Cape

(a) Positive aspects/highlights of visit

In the 2003 Annual Tourism Report, it was reported that the main activities of foreign tourists comprised of shopping, followed by nightlife and visiting with friends and family. Other attractions included the wildlife, beach, and the natural beauty of the country (SA Tourism, 2004: 38). In this survey, respondents were asked what tourists perceived as positive aspects of the Western Cape. Tour operators were the most descriptive in terms of highlighting the tourists’ positive experiences.

Table 3.5

Highlights	Tour operators	Tourism Bureaus	Travel Agencies	Total
Cleanliness	1	-	-	1
Food/seafood	3	-	-	3
Beautiful area	4	1	1	6
Friendliness of people	7	2	-	9
Number of activities	1	-	-	1
Climate	3	-	-	3
Landscape/scenery	6	1	-	7
Nature	3	-	-	3
Interesting things to do and see	1	-	1	2
Road standard	1	-	-	1
Hospitality of people	1	1	-	2
Beautiful Cape Town	1	-	-	1
History	1	-	-	1
Diversity of people/cultures/city	2	-	-	2
Wine farms	1	-	-	1
Beautiful coastline	-	1	-	1
Wildlife	-	1	-	1
Overall experience	1	1	1	3
Other	2	1	-	3

According to Table 3.5, most of the tourists had a positive experience in terms of the friendliness and warmth that they received from the local people. However, most of the highlights of their visit to the Western Cape revolved around the natural attractions of the region and their appreciation of the scenic beauty and unique landscape. Gert Maritz from Go Cape Tourism Services also mentioned that tourists considered democracy and foreign investment opportunities as positive aspects of the country.

Most of the tour operators keep a database or visitor's book where tourists can make their comments about their trips, the company and/or the places visited. Generally, the

tourists write about their experience with the tour operator and the service provided. The comments about the Western Cape and South Africa were found to be mostly positive and some tourists said that they would definitely return. In his visitor's book, Peter Warner found that the tourists had generally a very positive experience in the province and the rest of the country. Similarly, Craig Nancarrow said that tourists had overall positive experiences and the offering by South Africa is usually better than the expectation. Nadine Kuehn from Out of Africa Safaris said that they have not had any clients that were not fascinated with South Africa.

These highlights of tourists' visit to South Africa have not changed much over the years. The country has always been popular abroad for its game parks and beautiful scenery. In 1993, the South African Tourism Board found that foreign visitors identified the climate (24,4%), scenic beauty (31,2%) and wildlife (15,4%) as the most influencing factors in their decision to visit the country (Bloom, 1996: 94).

In a survey about tourism in the Cape Town area, respondents were also impressed with the area and rated their visit as very good (67%) and good (31,3%). Compared to other South African as well as international destinations, Cape Town was still perceived as good to very good. Although the survey was conducted more than a decade ago in 1994, it still yielded results similar to this study. 30,42% of the respondents said Table Mountain was their biggest highlight, while the environment, scenic beauty and climate were also mentioned as the highlights of their visit. Other highlights included the beaches, wine routes, sea cruises, amenities such as the Waterfront and Tygervalley shopping centre, and historical, cultural, and art exhibitions (City of Cape Town, 1994: 44-45). However, the Waterfront remains the biggest, national attraction for tourists.

(b) Negative aspects/Disappointments of visit

In order to boost the country's image as an ideal tourism destination it is important to know what issues are considered to be disappointing to tourists. The following issues were found to be negative aspects by tourists when visiting the province.

Table 3.6

Disappointments	Tour operators	Tourism Bureaus	Travel Agencies	Total
Service	2	-	1	3
Distances between towns/cities	2	-	-	2
Beggars	1	-	-	1
Poverty	3	-	-	3
Squatter camps along roads	2	-	-	2
High prices	3	4	2	9
Price increases	2	-	-	2
Crime	4	2	1	7
Public transport	1	1	1	3
Wine tours	1	-	-	1
Other	2	2	2	6

The general high prices of goods and services, particularly relating to flights, taxis and accommodation was mentioned as very disappointing to visitors. Together with price increases, the high pricing is definitely the main complaint by tourists visiting the Western Cape. These two issues were considered to be problematic by tour operators, tourism bureaus, as well as travel agencies. Comparatively, another study found that 2,2% of the respondents experienced problems with high prices (SA Tourism, 2004: 40).

An international study by Levantis and Gani drew a possible link between crime and resultant high prices and used Papua New Guinea as example. According to them the primary concern for tourists in the decision-making process of a possible destination is risk and the potential of exposure to crime. However, it is argued that the lack of law and order will have a secondary effect on tourism demand through its impact on prices within the tourism industry. It is believed that “for the providers of tourist services such as restaurants, hotels, hire car companies etc., there will be cost increases by way of higher insurance premiums, higher losses against businesses due to criminal activities, and increases in the provision of security measures” (Levantis and Gani, 2000: 960)

Steve Prior, Selftours, believes that South Africa is no longer considered as cheap. He said that they have had tours cancelled at the discussion stage as people have chosen to go elsewhere in the world where it is cheaper. Prices such as a trip in the Cable Car on Table Mountain are only aimed at international tourists and deter locals to enjoy an old fashioned holiday in their own country, as they cannot afford the rates. He ascribes this problem to greed.

When combined, begging in the streets, general poverty, and the informal settlements along the roads can also be seen as one of the biggest disappointments. Seven respondents mentioned crime or the threat to personal safety as a very negative aspect of the province. Tourists remain cautious and do not go out alone at night. Another study found that 46,41% of respondents were concerned about their personal safety, while the majority had favourable comments. The city centre at night, railway station and N2 route were considered to be unsafe and the violence prior to the 1994 election and harassment by beggars on the streets were also mentioned (City of Cape Town, 1994: 43).

Judy Krohn said that the meeting of tourists at Cape Town International airport followed by an upfront view of thousands of squatters along the N2 highway is a rude shock to every tourist. According to her, “there is NO explanation worthy to make sense of these developments, except to tell tourists that people are now free to make their own choices about where they live”. After passing through these areas, tourists often see the future of the country with some misgivings and some have even said that “there is NO hope”.

This view is not unique to this study since previous research has also proved that tourists consider the conditions in these settlements appalling. An opinion survey of foreign tourists found that people are taken aback by the wide contrast in levels of living within the Cape Town area. With regard to the townships near the airport and next to the N2, the research showed that it “created a negative first impression for visitors and instilled concern for their personal safety” (City of Cape Town, 1994: 34).

Within his study, Richard George also emphasised the importance of first impressions in embedding certain images and creating perceptions in the minds of the visitors. He noted that, on arrival, international tourists to South Africa are subjected to the pressing issue of crime through burglar bars in front of windows, security gates and fences, barbed wire, and armed response patrols. George argued that “visitors are exposed to panhandlers; a hotel issuing guests with whistles to join the hosts of Cape Town to ‘blow the whistle on crime’; and even street vendors wearing T-shirts endorsed by: ‘I don’t do crime – I sell biltong!’” (George, 2000).

Further disappointments that were included in the ‘other’ category of this study were administrative problems, the lack of parking for vehicles and buses, poor quality of food at certain places, pollution (dirty country), problems in neighbouring Zimbabwe, and the country lacks cultural interaction. One tour operator suggested better training for all involved in the tourism sector, as information offices lack staff with the necessary skills to provide efficient service.

Other studies also showed that visitors were disappointed with the socio-political conditions in the Cape Town area. Other disappointments included weather conditions, public transport and the standard of the roads. Compared to the seven respondents in this study that mentioned crime as a negative aspect of the province, the other survey found 10 incidents of theft and threat to personal safety. Generally, the survey found that 21,28% of the respondents experienced no disappointments and 4,47% said that their visit to the Cape Town area was too short (City of Cape Town, 1994: 45).

SA Tourism reported that the problems experienced by tourists include: a general lack of security (31,6%), poor service in general (6,9%), thieves that tried to steal Automated Teller Machine (ATM) cards, but failed (5,7%), poor road network system (3,9%), country divided along racial lines (2,9%), poor police service (2,7%), felt unsafe to drive due to hijackings (2,5%), police bribery (2,4%), and losing valuables (2%) (SA Tourism, 2004: 40).

3.3.7 Sustainable tourism growth

After considering the different points of view and experiences by tourists visiting the Western Cape, it is important to determine the shortcomings in the industry as identified by the respondents and find ways to overcome them. The respondents work within the industry and with tourists on a daily basis, thus they were asked what still needed to be done to ensure sustainable tourism growth in the Western Cape. The majority of respondents emphasised the need for overall lower prices relating to the industry and international marketing.

Many respondents related their answers back to their response regarding tourists' disappointments with their visit. One such respondent was Johnathan Muller who believes that more attention should be paid to prices, the exchange rate, quality of service, and more quality products. Also relating back to the negative aspects of the province, a large majority of the respondents were concerned about high prices and felt that stricter price controls should be put into place. The strong Rand is hampering the industry, accommodation is very expensive and the sharp increases in the price of fuel makes it difficult to keep costs low. Pierre du Toit suggested a reduced fuel tariff for vehicles used to transport tourists. Steve Prior argued that people are merely too greedy and tourists rather opt for a holiday on the Mediterranean Seaboard, as it is cheaper than an airline ticket to South Africa.

Many respondents were also of the opinion that the country should be better promoted and South African Tourism should promote the country more to places like the USA. The majority of respondents emphasised this need for marketing and international awareness of what the country has to offer, as the spin-off will either be directly felt, by them coming to visit, or indirectly, through the growth of the area. Joan Shaw also stressed the importance of marketing, because it will attract tourists, which will ensure more job creation that will in turn bring prosperity to all people living in the province. Melina Constance has a similar view, but believes that the rural areas should also be marketed as vigorously – and not only Cape Town and the Garden Route. Charlie Joubert highlighted the most important aspect of marketing: “we cannot supply that which is not demanded!”

Unfortunately, marketing could be ineffective, as sustainable tourism growth remains dependent on a low crime rate within a safe and secure environment. Therefore, Ferreira and Harmse argued that “there is no point in the Government spending millions marketing South Africa overseas if prospective visitors are confronted on a daily basis by horror reports about crime” (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 84).

A couple of respondents said that the issue of crime should be addressed, but that it is something that has become a monster mainly for South Africans. Elmarie Meintjes also said that Cape Town should be made safer for all by employing more security forces. Based on a survey for the Western Cape Tourism Board it was suggested that crime was the strongest recommendation (59%) for improvements by local authorities in the Western Cape. This was followed by suggested improvements to clean up litter (42%), better roads (23%), improved levels of service (21%), and better signposting on the roads (12%) (Kellas, 1999: 66).

Both Helen Smith and Fuad Peters said that sustainability needs to start with the people of South Africa and the whole community should become involved instead of expecting things to fall into their laps. Helen also said there is a need to develop more quality, cost effective products, and improve road networks and transport routes. More importantly, she mentioned that there is a need to “amalgamate the different regions and get people to work together for the good of South Africa and not against each other, which invariably ends up destroying the image of South Africa”.

Some of the respondents’ views regarding sustainability varied widely, but important issues were raised. One tour operator candidly stated that accommodation is important, but tourists do not come to South Africa to test the comforts of the mattresses – they come to see the place and experience things they cannot do at home. Therefore, he believes that more attractions or activities should be developed. Another operator felt that something has to be done to prevent the further extension and encroachment of the informal settlements around the city. Kaashief Davids believes that the necessary infrastructure already exists, but the taxi business needs to be improved and drivers should be educated

Fuad Peters said that both government and private enterprises should provide more funding to ensure sustainable growth. Conversely, only one respondent felt that a lot has already been done to ensure sustainable growth. Gert Maritz highlighted initiatives such as the R60 million car park at the airport and the R16 billion investment from the Council of Cape Town to upgrade Cape Town East.

In order to ensure sustainable tourism, Richard George suggests the following:

- Coordinating efforts to implement crime prevention measures
- Providing visitors with an information brochure
- Increase security measures and safety on public transport
- Improving safety initiatives
- Encouraging and training individuals at community level to work in tourism industry (George, 2003: 583).

3.4 CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that only a small number of tourists are disappointed with the crime situation when visiting the Western Cape, the majority of tourists (and respondents) still regard it as a serious problem, and possible deterrent, for tourism within the province. These perceptions do have a tendency to change once tourists have visited the area, but the problem lies in the fact that such negative images of the province, and country as a whole, even exist. According to the respondents, the media is regarded to be at the forefront of creating the images that are negatively impacting sustainable tourism growth. A large proportion of respondents feel obliged to warn tourists against crime or give them advice about their safety and security. However, the protection of tourists from incidents of crime should be a combined effort by the community, the SAPS, interest parties and government policies, initiatives and legislation.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEGISLATION AND STATE INITIATIVES ON CRIME

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Laws form an integral part of everyday life for everyone around the world, as it imposes duties and confers rights. This chapter focuses on specific, crime-oriented legislation that has been developed in South Africa and considers the different roles and responsibilities of national, provincial and local governments in creating and sustaining safe and secure environments. The emphasis also falls on the most important government initiatives towards preventing crime that have been implemented. Many policies are not specifically aimed at combating crimes against tourists, however government is committed to ensuring growth and sustainable development within the tourism industry. Thus, it is argued that any piece of legislation or initiative on crime, and the prevention thereof, will invariably have an impact on tourism.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the various policies, initiatives and programmes on crime prevention and evaluate whether it has been successful and what challenges lie ahead for local governments, provinces and the country as a whole. This chapter also reports on the views of tour operators, travel agents and tourism bureaus regarding legislation and whether enough has been done in terms of legislation to protect tourists from incidents of crime. The aim is to identify the main shortcomings, as told by the respondents, and make suggestions for future policies and initiatives.

4.2 SEPARATION OF POWERS

The 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security was drafted as a measure to improve safety and security in the country and it clearly defines the roles of national, provincial and local government with regard to crime prevention. National government works together with provinces and local authorities to develop crime prevention strategies (Rauch, 1998). Provincial governments have the function of initiating and coordinating social crime prevention programmes, and local

governments are tasked with improved delivery of crime prevention initiatives (Pelser and Rauch, 2001).

4.2.1 National Government

The Department of Safety and Security is at the forefront of providing national safety and security in South Africa and comprises of a number of actors, each with their own defined responsibilities. The departmental structure includes the Minister of Safety and Security, Secretary of Safety and Security, SAPS, Crime Prevention Unit, and the Independent Complaints Directorate (Polity, 1998).

Firstly, the responsibilities of the Minister of Safety and Security include:

- Accounting to the President, Cabinet and Parliament.
- Providing the national policing policy.
- Providing direction for implementing the National Crime Prevention Strategy and facilitating targeted crime prevention.
- Overseeing the allocation and use of resources.
- Approving and authorising budget allocations to the SAPS and the Crime Prevention Unit (Polity, 1998).

Secondly, the Secretary of Safety and Security serves as the accounting officer to the entire Department and is responsible for high level policing advice and support to the Minister (Shaw, 1998). The Secretary has the following functions: auditing the Department's budget; policy and strategic planning; negotiation, development, implementation and performance control of contracts; and providing ministerial support (Polity, 1998).

Thirdly, the vision of the SAPS is "to create a safe and secure environment for all South Africans" (Info, 2004). The responsibilities of the SAPS are to:

- Prevent, combat and investigate crime;
- Maintain public order;
- Protect and secure South Africans and their property; and
- Uphold and enforce the law (Info, 2004).

Fourthly, the Crime Prevention Unit is responsible for “continuing the work of the Department of Safety and Security in relation to the NCPS, including coordinating and facilitating the Director-Generals and Minister’s joint decision-making structures” (Polity, 1998).

Lastly, the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) is operationally independent from the Department and the SAPS and reports directly to the Minister of Safety and Security. The primary function of the ICD is to investigate all complaints about offences and misconduct committed by a member of the SAPS. Furthermore, it is tasked with investigating all deaths that occur in police custody or as a result of police action. The ICD also investigates all matters referred to them by the Minister or a province’s Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) for Safety and Security (Polity, 1998).

4.2.2 Provincial Government

The main responsibility of provincial government is to monitor and oversee the effectiveness and efficiency of the police service delivery in terms of the implementation of the national policing policy and to coordinate a number of other agencies to ensure social crime prevention. Besides the monitoring role of provincial governments, it has the responsibility of leading social crime prevention in their provinces and to prioritise such preventative initiatives.

More specifically, provincial governments have the responsibility of:

- Initiating and coordinating social prevention programmes
- Mobilising resources for social crime prevention programmes
- Coordinating a range of provincial functions and role players so as to improve crime prevention
- Evaluating and supporting crime prevention programmes at local government level
- Implementing and assuming joint responsibility for social crime prevention programmes in areas where local governments lack the necessary resources or the capacity to undertake the task (Marais, 1998).

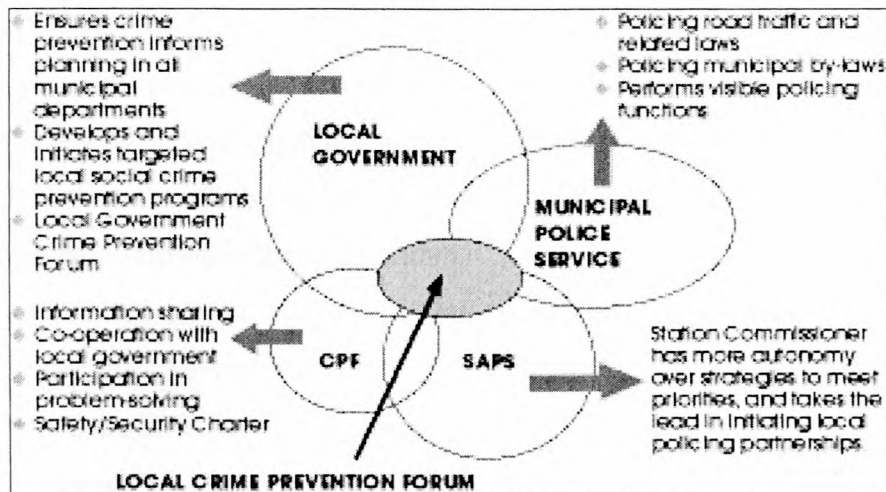
4.2.3 Local Government

Cities are usually responsible for issues such as health, urban planning and housing, however it plays an imminent role in ensuring an environment less conducive to incidences of crime. It has been said that “city and town government...is the level at which planning can take the needs of local communities and their particular crime problems into account, potentially providing an effective link between local representatives, municipal departments and the SAPS”, as illustrated by Figure 4.1 (Shaw, 1998). Crime prevention at city level is important, because crime varies according to geographical location, which requires different interventions and approaches.

The role of local governments in crime reduction is considered to be essential, because national government has failed to successfully prevent crime or reduce the fear of crime; situational crime prevention and the dynamics of geographical location has become important; and the multi-disciplinary approach to crime prevention requires the cooperation of various actors who are based locally, rather than nationally (Palmary, 2002).

In terms of crime prevention, local governments can become involved in a number of ways, but the following responsibilities were identified in the 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security:

- Crime prevention
- Improving police accountability
- Aligning resources and objectives within a crime prevention framework
- Ensuring development projects take account of crime prevention principles
- Coordination of crime prevention
- Effective by-law enforcement
- Effective traffic law enforcement
- Assisting victims of crime
- Initiating targeted crime prevention programmes (Shaw, 1998).

Figure 4.1: Crime prevention roles at local government level

(Shaw, 1998)

4.3 CURRENT LEGISLATION

4.3.1 National Crime Prevention Strategy

The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) was initiated in February 1995 and approved by Cabinet in May 1996 following the address by former President, Nelson Mandela, at the opening of Parliament. He stated:

“The situation cannot be tolerated in which our country continues to be engulfed by the crime wave which includes murder, crimes against women and children, drug trafficking, armed robbery, fraud and theft. We must take the war to the criminals and no longer allow the situation in which we are mere sitting ducks of those in our society who, for whatever reason, are bent to engage in criminal and anti-social activities. Instructions have therefore already gone out to the Minister of Safety and Security, the National Commissioner of the Police Service and the security organs as a whole to take all necessary measures to bring down the levels of crime” (President N.R. Mandela, 17 Feb 1995, Cape Town) (Rauch, 2003).

In comparison to the short-term policing measures of the SAPS Community Safety Plan, the NCPS was developed as a long-term crime prevention strategy that would address the underlying causes of crime in the country (Rauch, 2003). The NCPS

introduced a new paradigm for dealing with crime in South Africa and key concepts included:

- Law enforcement and the criminal justice system should not be the only responses to crime - methods to prevent crime should also be introduced.
- The success of the criminal justice system relies on cooperation and integration between the departments.
- Government cannot solely deal with crime and requires cooperation from all institutions of government.
- Crimes are different and should be disaggregated.
- The focus of prevention efforts should include victims and potential victims – and not only perpetrators.
- Prevention efforts should include both real crime patterns as well as the fear of crime (Rauch, 2003).

The new approach by government to address crime prevention “requires the development of wider responsibility for crime prevention and a shift in emphasis from reactive ‘crime control’; which deploys most resources towards responding after crimes have already been committed, towards proactive ‘crime prevention’ aimed at preventing crime from occurring at all” (Polity, 1996). The approach aims to integrate the crime control and crime prevention efforts of the different government departments (Polity, 1998). In essence, “the NCPS provided a framework for problem-solving, in which national government departments, different spheres of government, and organisations from civil society would be brought together in order to identify and implement multi-agency solutions to specific problems” (Pelser and Rauch, 2001).

The strategy accepts the fact that the causes of crime are deep-rooted and some are still related to the history and socio-economic realities of the country. Realising that crimes have different causes, the NCPS is based on the principle of disaggregation and exercises a separate examination for each crime, thus leading to a multi-faceted approach to the sustainable prevention of crime. The strategy states that “crime needs to be tackled in a comprehensive way, which means going beyond an exclusive focus on policing and the justice system; it means problem-solving to address the causal

factors which provide opportunities for crime and limit the likelihood of detection” (Polity, 1996).

It has been argued that all crimes are basically related, as increased instances of petty crimes create a sense of lawlessness, which could lead to communities ignoring more serious offences. However, the NCPS prioritised seven key crime categories, which include: crimes involving firearms, organised crime, white collar crime, inter-group conflict, vehicle theft and hijackings, corruption within the criminal justice system, and inter-personal violence (Rauch, 2003).

One of the most important objectives of the NCPS is to develop a comprehensive policy framework to ensure a coordinated and focused approach to crime. Secondly, it aims to promote a common, shared understanding of combating crime. Thirdly, the NCPS aims to develop various national programmes in order to focus the efforts by government departments on solving high crime levels. Fourthly, it aims to increase participation by civil societies in crime prevention initiatives, and lastly, to create a dedicated and integrated crime prevention capacity (Polity, 1996).

Furthermore, the strategy focuses on prioritising reliable crime data to ensure effective planning and distribution of resources. The strategy accepts the influential role of media in shaping public perceptions of crime, therefore the NCPS also focuses on an effective approach to communication to be able to inform the public about the fight against crime.

As part of the NCPS, government has adopted a four-pillar approach (Table 4.1), which highlights the areas for crime prevention development. These four key focus areas include re-engineering the criminal justice system, reducing crime through environmental design, community values and education, and transnational crime (Pelser and Rauch, 2001).

Table 4.1

Framework for the National Crime Prevention Strategy			
Criminal Justice Process = Certain and Rapid Deterrence	Community Values and Education = Community pressure and public participation in crime prevention	Environmental Design = Limit Opportunities and Maximise Constraints	Transnational Crime = Regional co-operation, stability and address cross-border crime
Crime Levels			

(Polity, 1996)

Progress and shortcomings

The NCPS is definitely an important development initiative towards crime prevention, but the most cumbersome deficiency of this strategy is the lack of implementation of its programmes and projects. The strategy looks brilliant and innovative on paper as government drew on the knowledge and intellectual power-base of universities, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and trade unions to aid in the policy-making process. However, the problem lies in the fact that “government's capacity to implement these policy visions has been entirely dependent on either inexperienced new recruits who have proved frequently to have little capacity to drive and operate state bureaucracies, or officials inherited from the old order who themselves have often been either passively or actively resistant to implementing the policies of a new political leadership, or who have simply been incapable of making such a policy shift” (Simpson and Rauch, 1999).

The lack of implementation can be ascribed to the lack of essential training for those tasked with the planning, implementation, budgeting and evaluation of crime prevention programmes. Implementation has also been challenging due to the “problem of translating interdepartmental co-ordination and co-operation at the national level into an operational reality down the line in the various departments and provinces” (Simpson and Rauch, 1999). The limited success of the strategy in terms of implementation can also be linked to the failure of the strategy to specify who should take responsibility for the implementation of crime prevention programmes. More importantly, the strategy is not linked to a specific time frame, which inevitably

causes delays in the implementation of programmes and projects and ultimately leads to a loss of the communities' confidence in the process (Naude, 2000: 5-6).

Furthermore, the NCPS has failed to address the following programmes: appropriate community sentencing, synergising and rationalisation of legislation, educating the public and education at schools (Naude, 2000: 9). The NCPS has also been unsuccessful in adequately integrating short-term and long-term action plans (Simpson and Rauch, 1999). The initial research phase to create this initiative was necessary and vital, but the success of the strategy is dependent on continuous research. Unfortunately, the costs and benefits of the NCPS have not been effectively measured due to the lack of monitoring and evaluation during its implementation phase.

It is suggested that the strategy should be re-assessed to be more applicable to the immediate, specific needs of crime in South Africa. More funding for projects should be sought, however new projects should not be launched if it is unable to deliver due to inadequate funding. Appropriate training should be provided to all project managers and management principles should be clearly defined (Naude, 2000: 9). Finally, the success of this strategy will be dependent on the support of all South Africans to "build a new society, rather than simply normalise something which was never normal" (Polity, 1996).

4.3.2 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security

Prior to 1994, political control was very strict and policing often involved the use of force, while crime control or prevention was minimal. Since then, the emphasis has shifted to crime prevention and the 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security, entitled 'In Service of Safety', was the first policy document to address this issue. In keeping with other initiatives and the NCPS, the approach involves crime prevention as opposed to crime reaction. The White Paper defines crime prevention as "all activities which reduce, deter or prevent the occurrence of specific crimes firstly, by altering the environment in which they occur, secondly by changing the conditions which are thought to cause them, and thirdly by providing a strong deterrent in the form of an effective criminal justice system" (Rauch, 2003).

It follows a city-level prevention approach and focuses on three key areas: crime prevention, law enforcement, and institutional reform. Firstly, crime prevention refers to “targeted, multi-agency crime prevention strategies focusing on offenders and victims and the environment in which they live, as well as on the particular root causes of particular crime types” (Pelser and Rauch, 2001). Secondly, law enforcement entails crime investigation by the SAPS, visible policing and improved service delivery to victims of crime. Thirdly, institutional reform includes specified roles at each level of government – national, provincial and local.

The White Paper strengthened government’s efforts of crime prevention in the country and made some recommendations for the revision of the original NCPS. The roles of national, provincial and local government regarding crime prevention are clearly defined in the policy and emphasises the role of local authorities in crime reduction. It follows a ‘two tier’ or twin approach to crime prevention to integrate policing and social crime prevention, as it should reinforce each other (Polity, 1998).

In the White Paper, it was proposed that “local authorities could contribute in two key ways: by ensuring effective enforcement of traffic laws and local bylaws, and by playing a role in the local coordination and initiation of social crime prevention programmes” (Rauch, 2003). These tasks would be performed in collaboration with the SAPS, the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) and Community Policing Forums (CPFs) (Palmary, 2001).

In keeping with the approach outlined in the NCPS, the White Paper also aims to address the root causes of crime. To ensure effective service delivery, the policy recommends reform to the institutional arrangements of the Department of Safety and Security. The White Paper identified four focus areas in order to confront crime in South Africa, which include crime and policing in the new democracy, government anti-crime initiatives, developing new policy, and strategic areas for intervention (Polity, 1998).

As stated in the policy, the objectives of the White Paper are to outline:

- Strategic priorities to deal with crime.

- Roles and responsibilities of various role-players in the safety and security sphere.
- The role of the Department of Safety and Security within the Constitutional framework (Polity, 1998).

Progress and shortcomings

Since the creation of the 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security, the greatest success has been experienced in the area of crime prevention through environmental design, as such projects are easily implemented and numerous planning departments have been established. For all cities, the challenge remains to initiate crime prevention projects to address the social inequalities, such as poverty and family instability. However, “the key challenge is to establish meaningful partnerships at city level, which is extremely difficult when few other agencies operate in city-sized units” (Palmary, 2001).

In terms of the White Paper, Government needs to address the following challenges: social crime prevention projects have to be coordinated; all crime prevention projects have to be properly researched to assess its potential impact; crime-related projects should move toward crime prevention rather than reaction; and social crime prevention should be prioritised and incorporated into the strategic plans of the city (Palmary, 2001).

Another limitation of the White Paper is the failure to provide clear guidelines to deal with the privatisation of law enforcement and safety and security, despite its implicit recommendations to privatise certain aspects of the police and the state-controlled safety and security industry. Furthermore, cooperative governance is also suggested within the legislation, but there is no vision so as to implement this concept (Nina, 1998: 17-18).

The White Paper on Safety and Security leads the so-called war on crime and “represents a new step in the transformation of South Africa from a culture of revolution towards a culture of institutionalisation” (Nina, 1998: 16). Unfortunately, similar to the NCPS, the achievements of the White Paper are limited by the lack of

implementation of its identified goals. This problem can be ascribed to a number of reasons. The first possible reason could be that this particular piece of legislation is too sophisticated for the problems that South Africa experience. In other words, the White Paper is incompatible with the specific environment. Secondly, implementation could be hampered by a lack of capacity or manpower.

The third reason, and possibly the most common, is the lack of sufficient funding and support to implement the objectives as outlined in the policy. Lastly, the lack of implementation could be due to the existing state structuring and organisation of safety and security. Both the policy and the South African Constitution emphasises the role of provincial and local governments and requires definite cooperative governance. However, this is not the case with regards to safety and security, as provincial and local governments are dependent on national government, which follows a top-down approach.

The problem with monitoring and evaluating the progress of the White Paper and NCPS is the fact that no specific measurements exist to assess the success or failure of such policies or legislation. Cross-cutting performance indicators for the short, medium, and long-term should be created in order to ensure the success and sustainability of these critical initiatives. It would be advisable to create such indicators and measurements at the initial phase of creating and developing crime prevention initiatives. All initiatives that are implemented at city or national level should be based on adequate research and have built-in monitoring and evaluation systems to determine the costs and benefits in order to be able to respond to certain shortcomings.

Monitoring and evaluation has thus far also been hampered by the lack of available crime figures, while the problem was exacerbated by the moratorium that was placed on crime statistics in July 2000, because progress could not be measured. The moratorium only served to raise concerns about the validity and reliability of current statistics as well as the transparency of government (Schönteich, 2000). Similarly, Simpson and Rauch argued, "the problem with measuring the success of the crime prevention initiative is simply that it requires demonstrating that something did not happen. This is not only methodologically complex, but also difficult to 'sell' to

anxious politicians who require more concrete successes in the fight against crime to appease a sceptical public” (Simpson and Rauch, 1999).

4.4 STATE INITIATIVES TO COMBAT CRIME

National, provincial and local governments are continuously developing new safety and security initiatives in the fight against crime. At national level, the Tourism Safety Task Group and Safer Cities programme have been implemented. At local level, the Cape Town City Improvement District and Closed Circuit Television systems are just two of the most important initiatives that have been established in the Cape Town area in an attempt to prevent crime.

4.4.1 Initiatives at national level

(a) Tourism Safety Task Group

The Tourism Safety Task Group (TSTG) was established in 1995 as a result of the negative impact that the ever-increasing crime rate was having on the tourism industry. The task group is a joint effort by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, the SAPS, SATOUR, the Tourism Business Council of South Africa (TBCSA), Business Against Crime (BAC), the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the nine provincial tourism departments (Mokaba, 1997).

In South Africa, the TSTG is responsible for “monitoring the safety of tourists...and combating it effectively through the dissemination of relevant information to appropriate persons and organisations, both nationally and provincially, based on a newly created data base on the subject, but also through sensitive communication on the issue, to tourists themselves” (Mokaba, 1997).

The functions of the TSTG include:

- Developing a tourism safety policy and strategy;
- Collecting, processing and disseminating statistics on the safety of tourists to ensure informed role players and stakeholders;
- Developing a communication strategy and facilitating communication on tourism safety;

- Combating, eliminating and preventing crime against tourists by ensuring that adequate resources are allocated correctly;
- Developing mechanisms to maximise co-ordination, cooperation and collaboration between tourism industry stakeholders;
- Planning and implementing a nation-wide tourism safety awareness campaign;
- Promoting the involvement of local communities and businesses community in tourism safety; and
- Monitoring and promoting responsible media reports on statistics or issues of crime (Mokaba, 1997).

The TSTG initiates and implements various specific, visible projects to improve the safety of tourists. Furthermore, it also focuses on providing a hospitality service at international airports to complement the efforts of the airport companies and the police. Thus, a so-called 'tourism ambassador' initiative was implemented whereby the safety and hospitality needs of tourists are attended to and general information is provided. The main function of the ambassadors are to "assist security personnel at airports and to work in partnership with the police to render a support service thereby enhancing tourists' safety and ensuring that they have an enjoyable visit" (Mokaba, 1997).

On paper, this initiative is a step in the right direction towards recognising the impact of crime, violence and instability on the tourism industry, whereas other initiatives purely focus on the issue of combating and preventing crime. Regrettably, it seems as though little has been done to implement this strategy in order to protect tourists visiting the country. Details about the TSTG are scarce and information about its development and implementation seems to be non-existent, as even the official website of the Department of Safety and Security fails to mention the creation of this strategy. It is doubtful whether tourism establishments, the public or potential visitors are even aware of the existence of such an initiative, much less its progress since its establishment in 1995. To ensure the success of the TSTG, the Department firstly needs to create awareness about its creation, secondly invest sufficient resources and lastly, work diligently towards implementing it.

(b) Safer Cities programme

The Safer Cities initiative is based on the United Nations (UN) notion that “governments, at all appropriate levels, including local authorities, have a responsibility to ensure access to safety” (Palmary, 2001). South Africa was first introduced to the Safer Cities programme in 1995 by various UN agencies as part of the preparation for the Habitat II agenda. After a group of South Africans attended the International Conference on Urban Security in December 1995 and the adoption of the NCPS in 1996, Johannesburg was selected as a demonstration city in the Urban Management Programme (UMP). At the end of 1997, the Greater Johannesburg Metro Council approved the strategy for Safer Cities. Following negotiations and obtaining donor funding, Durban and Cape Town also adopted the programme (Palmary, 2001).

The experiences of the Safer Cities programme in the different cities differ widely, and Cape Town is unique in the sense that it focuses on research into the nature and causes of crime. These ‘safety audits’ made certain recommendations regarding changes to programmes. The suggested changes have “largely focused on situational aspects of crime prevention but the importance of addressing long term structural inequalities such as poor housing and poverty have also been noted” (Palmary, 2001). The Cape Town office has also formed partnerships with planning departments in the Council to address the issue of the design and maintenance of high crime areas.

Various other projects have also been introduced and implemented in conjunction with NGOs in the city. These partnerships with the NGOs have been a distinguishing feature of initiatives in Cape Town. The projects include: “life-skills training to unemployed youths, in house domestic violence workshops, sensitising communities to domestic violence through drawing murals, hosting a conference on combating crime and xenophobia and training of neighbourhood watch groups” (Palmary, 2001).

According to Ingrid Palmary at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Cape Town still lacks a metro-wide city safety strategy, such as in Durban. She stated that “one of the difficulties that Cape Town has faced is controversy over where the Safer Cities office should be located (that is, under protection services or safety and security in the Council), because the two

departments are competing for ownership of a project that has been successful and enjoyed a high profile” (Palmary, 2001).

It was recommended that Cape Town should follow the Johannesburg example of Safer Cities i.e. organise clean-ups of strategically important areas in the Cape Town Metropolitan Council (CMC) and mobilise businesses and schools to participate (Schärf, 1998). Furthermore, it is important for state initiatives in crime prevention to recognise the importance of the youth as a key target group. It is worrying that the SAPS reports that 50% of crimes committed on the streets are by juvenile offenders (Dugmore, 2003: 37). Thus, the potential and benefits of youth development activities aimed specifically at crime prevention are endless. Involving the youth in tourist protection initiatives could instil feelings of pride and association among the youth within the community tourism policing (Bloom, 1996: 99).

The Safer City programme in Durban already included youth crime prevention into its strategy. It is argued, “given that schools represent the places where young members of society begin their training, it is imperative that they be made safe from criminal activity” (Palmary, 2001). The approaches to this form of crime prevention are very diverse and even include diverting the youth from crime through art, sports, cultural and literacy activities, and the organisation of recreational facilities. The success of such strategies is difficult to measure, but it would still be a viable option to consider for implementation in the Western Cape, especially Cape Town.

4.4.2 Initiatives at local level

Despite the emphasis that the White Paper has placed on safety and security, the CMC has no specific department to deal with such issues. The functions of safety and security fall under the control of the Directorate of Protection, Health and Trading Services whose primary responsibilities include the coordination of primary health care and protection services in the Metro area. As part of their approach, Cape Town Metro regards the implementation of crime prevention programmes as the task of Municipal Local Councils (MLC's) (Memeza, 2000). Nevertheless, various crime prevention initiatives in the Cape Town area have been developed, which include Cape Town Central City Improvement Districts and Closed Circuit Television.

(a) Cape Town Central City Improvement District

Improvement districts have been very successful in various cities around the world, such as the UK and the USA, and 1500 City Improvement Districts (CIDs) have been established worldwide. South Africa imported the concept to address the “lack of capacity in municipalities to maintain services at levels desired by business/land owners” (Dugmore, 2003: 33). CIDs are considered to be a vehicle for achieving sound urban management and allow businesses to improve their levels of service. Improvement districts in the Cape Town region include: Cape Town Central City, Green Point, Oranje-Kloof, Sea Point, Wynberg, Claremont, Fish Hoek, Muizenberg, and Parow (Dugmore, 2003: 37-47).

The Central City Improvement District (CCID) was first established on 1 November 2000 after a research project showed that crime and grime in Cape Town are the two major disincentives to investment, public confidence and development in the area (Cape Town CCID, 2004: 1). Cape Town Partnership facilitated the introduction of the CCID in an effort to develop Cape Town as a world-class destination for investment and business. The purpose of the CCID is to promote a new relationship between the city and its property owners, to promote investment and create a business environment in the city (Dugmore, 2003: 34).

The focus of the CCID is to create a “high quality urban management environment” and its priorities, in order of expenditure, are security, cleansing and promoting of the Central City (Capetownpartnership, 2005). Cleansing entails creating an impression of a clean city, while marketing aims to enhance the appeal of the city. More importantly, though, its main priority is to ensure that Cape Town is the safest city in the country (Cape Town CCID, 2004: 4).

The CCID works together with other law enforcement agencies, which include the SAPS, the City Police, and private security. The security services of this district consist of 47 private security officers and 103 community patrol officers (CPOs). Additional security includes 130 parking marshals from Cape Town Partnership and traffic services from the City of Cape Town (Cape Town CCID, 2004: 4).

According to the CCID, it has contributed to a reduction of 40% in crime during the first six months of operation. The February 2002 public survey indicated that general perceptions of safety and security had improved in the city (Dugmore, 2003: 35). In 2004, a total of 1130 arrests were made by the CCID, mostly for anti-social behaviour. The CCID has been a well-received contribution to crime prevention in the city and works “in collaboration with CCID contracted security, City Council’s Vagrancy Unit, City Police and the CCID’s cleansing contractor, Minizu, the SAPS, and the City Community Patrol Board” (Cape Town CCID, 2004: 4).

Despite its success in reducing crime, the CCID is still faced with a number of challenges and limitations. The CCID does attend weekly meetings of the Crime Prevention Forum, which aims to improve communication between the different role-players, but there is a lack of communication between the public and the CCID, as complaints are not always channelled to the appropriate agencies, which leads to delays and poor response to complaints. Communication and co-ordination between the SAPS, CCID and other law enforcement agencies also remain problematic (Dugmore, 2003: 35-37).

The CCID needs to face further challenges, such as the lack of consultation between the CCID and City Law Enforcement Departments about security matters. The lack of training for CPO’s and sufficient command and control over them has also proved to be problematic. Although private security officers have had some successes, the CCID would need to address the insufficient powers of these officers to enforce Municipal by-laws. In terms of security, issues such as the behaviour of informal recyclers, informal parking attendants and street children remain problematic (Cape Town CCID, 2004:5).

(b) Closed Circuit Television

Crime can take on various forms and it has been argued that certain environmental conditions can be conducive to increased victimisation and heightened fears of crime. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), also referred to as situational crime prevention, aims to reduce the level of crime through planning and design of the physical environment. This can include “reducing the amount of vacant land or open spaces in an area, ensuring that safe pedestrian routes and trading centres

exist and ensuring that public spaces such as parks are well lit. Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) has probably been one of the most popular and effective situational crime prevention strategies in South Africa (Palmary, 2001).

Cape Town was the first South African city to receive CCTV in 1999 and currently has the most extensive system (Palmary, 2001). This initiative has since also been implemented in other cities such as Johannesburg and Durban. Cape Town's CCTV was established as part of a strategy by the City Police Service (CPS) to secure the Central Business District (CBD). The system currently falls under the control of the city, but it was established as a joint effort between the City of Cape Town and Business Against Crime (BAC) (Dugmore, 2003).

In the inner city, 72 cameras were initially installed at a cost of R8.5 million and plans involved additional cameras on the station deck in the inner city and in the inner city itself to increase public transport safety. The cameras are operated from two control rooms, one in the CBD and the other in the N1 City area. The control room in the CBD, also known as the Strategic Surveillance Unit (SSU), is supported by a mobile response team. This unit consists of sixteen City Law Enforcement officers and sixteen CPO's (Dugmore, 2003).

Aside from the CCTV system in the CBD, a number of other networks have also been implemented in some of the most problematic areas and roads. Additionally, as one of the primary tourist attractions in the Western Cape, the Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Waterfront also needs very high levels of surveillance and has installed 115 hidden CCTV cameras and additional safety measures include 159 private security guards. In terms of crime prevention through environmental design, the Waterfront serves as a good example for future projects. At the Waterfront, victimisation is restricted to vehicle-related crimes and petty theft, as the design of the development enables thorough monitoring and lends itself to vehicular rather than pedestrian traffic – however the Waterfront is now considering moving to more pedestrian traffic. (ISS, 1998).

Unfortunately the installation and maintenance of CCTV systems are expensive and cities have to determine whether its advantages justify the relative costs. The SSU serves as an excellent instrument for crime detection and traffic management tool, but it is questionable whether the system is used optimally. It has been argued that the lack of operational experience and power of the control officers is a serious barrier in detecting violations (Dugmore, 2003). The biggest criticism against the CCTV system is its reactive nature to crimes by responding to problems as they occur, rather than applying a proactive approach to prevent crimes. Crime prevention and crime control requires a long-term approach and it is questionable whether cities, especially Cape Town, would be able to continuously expand and upgrade its CCTV system to deliver sustainable, tangible results.

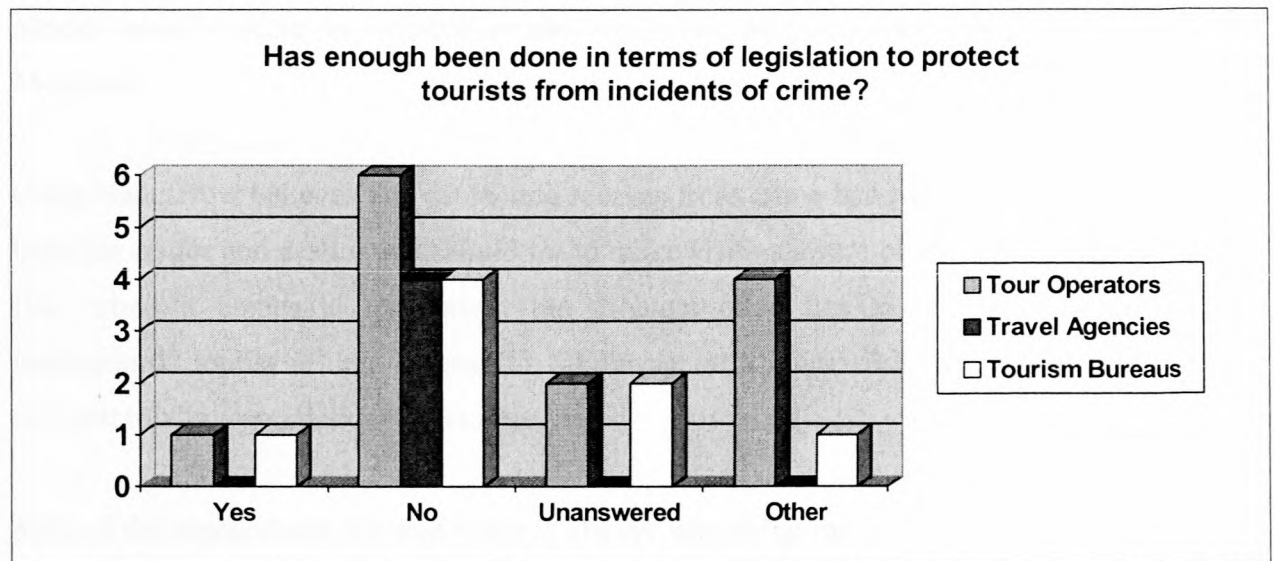
Additional problems with CCTV systems are that the presence of cameras could deter people from committing crime in the specific area, but it does not prevent them from committing the crime elsewhere. The fear of crime and the actual levels of crime should also be determining factors when considering such a system. In the case of the Waterfront, the cameras are concealed as the presence of the CCTV cameras could heighten the fear of crime (ISS, 1998). Ultimately, CCTV systems are “not aimed at reducing the number of people committing crime, but rather at reducing the opportunities for those who are already committing crime...it therefore needs to be operated in conjunction with projects that prevent people becoming perpetrators” to fulfil its intended purpose (Palmary, 2001).

Considering the various challenges that South Africa, and more specifically, Cape Town and the Western Cape have to face regarding crime reaction and prevention, it is necessary to conform to certain recommendations. A social justice resource project has suggested that a capacity building and skills programme should be developed for local government staff and councillors on crime prevention. Government and council should learn from the experiences of international organisations on crime prevention projects and apply international success stories (Schärf, 1998). Local governments are more aware of the problems and needs in their immediate communities, thus the challenge is to identify and target the underlying causes of crime in order to ensure an effective problem solving approach to crime.

4.5 PERCEPTIONS OF LEGISLATION ON TOURISM

As part of the interviews with the tour operators, travel agents and tourism bureaus, it was necessary to ask the respondents what they think about current legislation on crime prevention and whether enough has been done in terms of legislation to protect tourists from incidents of crime. The responses to this question varied and a number of respondents did not answer, because they did not know enough about existing laws. Figure 4.2 indicates that the majority of the respondents thought that current laws are inadequate or insufficient. Only two responded yes to the question and five respondents gave other explanations of what they thought.

Figure 4.2



The two respondents that believe that sufficient legislation exists were Gert Maritz and Joan Shaw from George Tourism Bureau. Joan Shaw's response was that "everyone that travels must use their common sense, no matter which province or country they are in, [as this] is often gauged by speaking to locals rather than from the media". The former said that legislation within the tourism industry requires operating licences and passenger liability insurance for R10 million. Furthermore, he stated that some hotels and guesthouses hire more security personnel. However, it is questionable whether extra security would be necessary if adequate legislation existed.

Peter Warner from Hakuna Matata Tours feels that it is difficult to legislate against crime on tourists or anyone for that matter. He said that it is all a matter of solving the

problems that the country and all other countries have to face, which includes embarking on a programme where everybody learns to respect each other. He believes that “tighter discipline within the homes first and everyone worldwide has to buy into this and not sit back and wait for governments to legislate for something everyone needs to do for themselves”. He also argues for tight discipline in schools and moving away from political correctness, which, according to him, is causing more problems than it is trying to solve.

Pierre du Toit offered an alternative view as he questioned whether there could be special legislation for tourists. He said that tourists are easily identifiable and vulnerable, but he does not know how legislation could help, as his opinion is that attacks usually occur in isolated places e.g. when people walk alone on Table Mountain.

Craig Nancarrow believes that protecting tourists from crime is a two way street and both the visitor and destination should try to make visitors aware of possible dangers. But, when it comes to legislation, the problem often lies in the fact that an international tourist seldom returns to follow up on a court case, which makes it difficult to ally repercussions of a crime.

52% of the respondents felt that there is always something more that could be done and that there can never be enough information going out to tourists. Some thought that tourists needed to be made more aware of places where they should not go. Johnathan Muller suggested that attention should be paid to the training of tour guides, securing sites, cleanliness, and skills training. He believes that any incident is one incident too many.

From a different perspective, Elmarie Meintjes said that a lot has been done to protect wealthy tourists who stay at expensive hotels, while others have been neglected. Tourists have certain expectations of accommodation and restaurants and often feel let down, thus the Tourism Board should take greater control of the situation. According to Elmarie Meintjes, continuous high standards should always be upheld to ensure an auspicious image of the country.

A number of respondents highlighted the need for more police presence and visibility. Judy Krohn also mentioned a shortage of traffic police and argued that legislation cannot be carried through, because there are not enough law enforcers. On the other hand, Charlie Joubert thinks that the problem lies with the legal system and she said: “if government would suitably punish criminals, there would not be so much crime in this country”.

Mike Vermeulen from Maties Travel said that the hiking trails on Table Mountain cannot be that difficult to control, but one almost reads of another attack on a tourist on Table Mountain on a weekly basis. He clearly identified Table Mountain, Robben Island and the Waterfront as the main attractions of visiting Cape Town and regard safety at these places as top priority. His argument is that there is not much else to do, as “shopping is not that great, even in the city, prices are not cheap, and accommodation in the city centre is either very low class or five-star, which not everyone can afford – there is little middle range”. He argued that both international and local tourists deserve the same amount of safety and security.

Similarly, Helen Smith from Featherbed also argued that the best legislation is already in place, but the enforcement of it is where the problem lies. Her opinion is that “we need better enforcement on the ground and also more education, whereby people are shown that these people coming to our shores benefit the country as a whole and contribute to the overall growth of the economy”.

Steve Prior had very strong feelings that the current legislation is definitely inadequate, especially considering all the begging children and vagrants on the street, waiting for a chance to commit a crime. Tourists are often harassed and pestered for money and these people throw a very bad light on South Africa. He suggested that the police round them up and give them constructive jobs, such as cutting grass for the municipality.

After considering the views of the various respondents, it is obvious that respondents are not satisfied with the current crime situation. Although many of the implemented initiatives and programmes have involved increased policing, many respondents still regard it as the most viable option to solving crime. Many respondents argued that

information sharing is an effective tool to protect tourists from crime, but nobody considered the critical issue of crime prevention instead of crime control or reaction.

One of the most conspicuous results of the data was the fact that most respondents seemed to be relatively uninformed about current legislation and initiatives to combat crime in the province and the rest of South Africa. Many respondents have their own ideas on the necessary steps to protect tourists without knowing whether these steps overlap with existing policies or initiatives. Tour operators, travel agents and tourism bureaus are at the forefront of tourism development in this country and it is therefore cumbersome that these role players are unaware of policies, such as the White Paper on Safety and Security and NCPS, and its objectives. This gap in communication between the producers and government definitely raises doubts about the effectiveness of these initiatives, its implementation and the intended benefits.

Such initiatives on safety and security have a direct and indirect impact on the tourism industry and any successes will be dependent on the support and input by the community and stakeholders in all stages of crime prevention planning and implementation – which it does not currently have. It is a well-known fact that “widely publicised crimes committed against foreign tourists have an immediate effect in terms of declining foreign visitor numbers and the international image as a tourist destination” (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 80). Legislation has the ability to prevent such crimes from occurring, however government should consult with tourism-oriented companies during the policy-making process so as to identify the most important needs and current shortcomings. Finally, progress will only be made through continuous information sharing and reporting between government and all interest parties.

4.6 CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the South African government recognises the importance of crime prevention in the country – not only to protect its international image, but also the citizens. Various policies and initiatives have been developed and implemented accordingly, however national crime statistics still remain extremely high. Many initiatives have been adopted from other countries that have had successful outcomes, but South Africa and the individual cities need to alter these strategies to be applicable

to the specified needs. There is no so-called 'quick-fix' to crime prevention and government should regard it as a long-term approach to combat crime.

It is the premise of the respondents that tourists should be protected from incidents of crime, but both local residents and visitors should receive equal safety and security, as protection is a basic need that is deserved and required by all. Nevertheless, it is argued that "the most important prerequisite for a successful tourist industry in South Africa is a situation where crime is under control and the safety of tourists can be guaranteed" (Ferreira and Harmse, 2000: 84). Considering the enormous potential of the tourism industry and its contribution towards economic growth, it is imperative for the South African government to make a concerted effort to create and implement policies that also takes the impact of crime on tourism into consideration (Levantis and Gani, 2000: 967).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Considering the results of this study together with previous literature on crime and tourism, it is evident that the Western Cape should continue all attempts to protect tourists as well as its residents and communities. Whether crime in the province can be attributed to deep-rooted social or political motives, every measure should be taken to decrease its occurrence and minimise the damage that it can cause so as to ensure a prosperous tourism industry.

This chapter briefly revisits the purpose of the current study and then focuses on the main arguments and challenges that the Western Cape has yet to face. The chapter also makes certain recommendations with regards to crime prevention and tourism and offers suggestions for future research on this topic.

5.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this study was to determine whether crime acts as a deterrent for sustainable tourism growth in the Western Cape. More specifically, the purpose was to determine what tourists' perceptions of crime are, safety and security in the province, and how this is influencing the tourism industry. The study also focused on the occurrence of attacks on tourists and how the current crime situation has been affecting the tourism industry. Through the views and opinions of the respondents, this study aimed to identify the potential international and domestic tourism target market of the province.

From the perspective of tour operators, travel agents and tourism bureaus, this study also sought to establish what role the media plays in creating or changing tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape. Lastly, this study considered the various policies and legislation on crime that have been passed and evaluated whether it has been successful or what progress has been made with regard to combating crime or the prevention thereof.

5.3 TOURISM AND CRIME

The study of the relationship between tourism and crime in certain cities and in general has become increasingly popular over the last few decades. Most of the international and South African studies have found that safety, security, peace and tranquillity at a destination are definite prerequisites for a prosperous tourism industry. However, this is easier said than done, as many countries around the world, including South Africa, have been struggling with increasing crime rates and consequent decline in tourist numbers.

Tourists can become opportunistic victims of criminal activity, but most concerning are those situations where individuals or organised criminal and terrorist groups commit crimes specifically aimed at tourists and tourist facilities. Literature has indicated that tourists are often victimised due to their vulnerability in unfamiliar surroundings. Various studies have found that residents are equally vulnerable to high crime levels, but the difference lies in the type of crimes that the former and tourists are exposed to. Nobody is exempt from the possibility of becoming a victim of crime, however, according to the respondents in this study, they have experienced very little attacks on tourists.

Due to the extremely high value of the tourism industry in South Africa, it is deemed necessary to effectively provide tourists with safety and security when visiting the country or province. In line with this view, respondents do extend warnings or give safety advice to tourists. However, one of the most important findings of this study was that respondents believe that crime is a problem in the Western Cape and it serves as a threat for sustainable tourism development in the province. Solutions were offered so as to address the problem, but the most important recommendation was that crime should be prevented by determining its root cause in order to provide equal protection for both residents and tourists.

Unfortunately, the problem lies in the fact that the acts of violent crime against tourists receive more negative publicity from international media, which has a stark effect on the image of the Western Cape and South Africa as a whole. It is understandable that tourists perceive South Africa as unsafe, because the American edition of Conde Nast Traveller has stated that "...statistically, South Africa is now

the world's criminal country outside a war zone...an average of 52 people are murdered everyday, a rate nearly ten times that in the USA" (George, 2000).

Such reports are important, and even necessary, but the problem lies in the frequency of such reports, as this leads to a tangible decline in tourist numbers to the province. Many travel destination marketers have thus argued, "the media can take relatively few crime incidents against tourists and through sensationalist reporting create an hysterical overreaction out of proportion to the real level of risk" (Schiebler et al., 1996: 37).

The majority of respondents of the current study also regard the role of the media as highly influential in tourist perceptions. The media does have a social responsibility of reporting facts, but responsible journalism should be encouraged. Studies have emphasised that tourists often have a perception of risk that is associated with a certain destination, while the reality is something completely different. Unfortunately, "in the business of tourism, 'perception becomes reality'" (George, 2000).

Numerous policies and initiatives have been created and developed in the country as a national strategy to combat crime, while others have focused specifically on Cape Town or the Western Cape. The focus should be on the implementation of these strategies and to involve the media in informing the public and international market of such initiatives in an effort to gain support and allow for constructive publicity. Government has made safety and security a priority area, but to date there has been a clear lack of policies and initiatives focusing solely on protecting tourists from incidents of crime in the country. Every effort should be made to prevent crime – not only to benefit the tourism industry, but also the population as a whole.

It was not the objective of this study to rule out any other factors that could contribute to a decline in tourist numbers or lack of tourism growth. It is the premise that crime and the absence of safety and security does have a negative impact on both domestic and international tourism in the Western Cape, which deters sustainable tourism growth.

5.4 CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The main challenge for tourism in the Western Cape is to develop effective initiatives to warn tourists about safety and security without instilling fear and deterring them from visiting or enjoying certain activities. The problem is that negative crime incidents cannot only be countered by market efforts. Richard George argued, "SA Tourism cannot just increase its spend on altering false or negative perceptions as it may increase tourist numbers yet will not improve actual safety and security measures at the destination" (George, 2003: 583). However, the biggest challenge for local authorities is to provide equal protection and security for both tourists and the local community.

Despite the fact that the establishment of a link between crime and tourism can be very beneficial for the growth and development of a country, South Africa and many other countries are still reluctant to release official crime statistics. The truth is, 'you cannot change what you do not acknowledge'. Potential tourists will always have access to information about certain crime incidents or the deteriorating law and order situation in a potential destination despite the inaccessibility of crime statistics (Levantis and Gani, 2000: 967). There are no specific benefits related to the suppression of crime statistics and tourists will continue to make decisions about their holiday destinations based on their own perceptions and previous experiences of other visitors to the country.

Increasing the number of police officers, as suggested by the respondents in this study, would be one option to address the crime problem in the province. It may help to reduce the number of crime incidents, but considering the shortage of man-power, innovative new anti-crime strategies will have to be developed and properly implemented. In order to control the problem of crime, it is recommended that "...authorities at all levels of government and the private sector need to develop a range of strategies including education, new policing methods and policies designed to reduce the opportunity for crime to occur" (Prideaux, 1996: 74).

South Africa should follow the example of other countries such as Egypt and revive the tourism industry through public relations with the media and dynamic international tourism operators. In the Western Cape, whole communities could

become involved and take responsibility for tourism and the value and importance of the tourism industry should be communicated to all (George, 2000). The picturesque Overberg town of Hermanus serves as a good example where the whole community works together and have managed to win the 'cleanest town' competition for two consecutive years in 2004 and 2005, thereby boosting the appeal of the town as favoured holiday destination. Such initiatives will go a long way to ensure sustainable tourism growth and are necessary elements to be able to host a successful Soccer World Cup in 2010.

Education is one of the most important prerequisites for effectively addressing the problem of crime and the success of all initiatives will depend on increased expertise and continued research in the field of tourism. It is recommended that tourists should also be educated about safety and their behaviour to make them less conducive to incidents of crime in the province. Current crime prevention strategies should be marketed in order to inform generating markets that the problem of crime and tourism is being addressed.

It would be beneficial to determine whether these acts of violence against tourists "should be considered as factors caused by wider social and political circumstances and therefore uncontrollable by tourism destinations, or whether the public sector and the tourism industry can take steps to prevent these acts and minimise the damage caused by such incidences" (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996: 311). It is therefore recommended that, rather than shifting the blame and "denying the existence of such crimes or constantly attacking the media for creating panic and negative publicity, tourism plants should invest significant resources in increasing awareness, guest education and crime prevention measures" (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996: 311).

5.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

The research for this study only served as a stepping-stone for future research into this field of crime and tourism. A repetition of this study in a couple of years together with an increase in the sample size would yield interesting results and would allow for more insight into the profile of the tourists that visit the country each year.

It would be very interesting to undertake a new study on the occurrence of attacks on tourists by interviewing both tour operators and tourists and comparing those views with official statistics as provided by police stations in all the main regions in the province. Another topic for future research would be whether geography or country of origins plays a role in tourists' perceptions of crime in South Africa. Studies in South Africa have also yet to determine the exact profile of the victims of tourist crimes.

In order to effectively address the problem of crime, future research would need to examine the type of crimes that tourists are most apprehensive of and determine the origin of such perceptions. Another option would be to examine whether tourists fear crime more than locals. Other research could focus on the extent to which tourists use personal crime or risk reduction strategies while visiting the country versus the negligence on the part of other tourists. Lastly, as a continuation of this study, future research could examine the differences in tourists' perceptions of crime at the top-rated towns or cities in the country.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Given the huge potential for tourism in the Western Cape, the contributions to the local economies, and opportunities for job creation, policymakers need to know how tourists from the most important tourism generating countries perceive the current crime situation in South Africa. As Seddighi et al. argued, "despite its economic importance and significance, tourism is a highly vulnerable industry and is particularly sensitive to exogenous factors that are able to distract and obstruct the sensitive equilibrium and balance under which the tourism industry is functioning" (Seddighi et al., 2001: 181). It is without a doubt that major acts of violence or crime and consequent negative perceptions can threaten the success of the tourism industry in the Western Cape. Addressing the potentially detrimental impacts of crime on provincial tourism in a comprehensive and constructive fashion should be the first priority of provincial policy.

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Rank	Name	Location	Contact Person	Date
1	Hyllon Kras Tourism	Paarl	Jonathan Kras	12/01/2003
2	Go Cape Tourism Services	Stellenbosch	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
3	MINWES Tours	Brixton	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
4	Hikungu Matata Tours	Kayema	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
5	Elephant Hide Tours and Transfers	Kayema	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
6	Out of Africa Safaris	Milnerton	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
7	Selfcours	Kayema	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
8	Green Rhino African Travel	Conventry	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
9	Malachite Tours	Stellenbosch	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
10	Stellenbosch Adventure Centre	Stellenbosch	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
11	Cape Escape Tours	Conventry	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
12	Judy's Tours	Stellenbosch	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003
13	Featherbed	Kayema	Pauline Kras	12/01/2003

APPENDIX A: LIST OF RESPONDENTS

TOUR OPERATORS				
	Name	Location	Contact Person	Date of interview
1	Hylton Ross Touring	Paarden Eiland	Johnathan Muller – Marketing Manager	18 May 2005
2	Go Cape Tourism Services	Stellenbosch	Gert Maritz – Co-owner	10 August 2005
3	MINWES Tours	Bellville	JP Wessels – Co-owner	14 May 2005
4	Hakuna Matata Tours	Knysna	Peter Warner – Owner	1 July 2005
5	Elephant Hide Tours and Transfers	Knysna	Ryan Utermark – Owner	4 July 2005
6	Out of Africa Safaris	Milnerton	Nadine Kuehn – Trainee	12 July 2005
7	Selftours	Knysna	Steve Prior – Owner	30 June 2005
8	Green Rhino African Travel	Constantia	Cynthia Simpson	11 July 2005
9	Malachite Tours	Stellenbosch	Pierre du Toit – Owner	11 July 2005
10	Stellenbosch Adventure Centre	Stellenbosch	Simone de Kock – Senior Consultant & Office Manager	13 July 2005
11	Cape Escape Tours	Greenpoint	Patrick Dupond – Owner	12/13 July 2005??
12	Judy's Tours	Stellenbosch	Judy Krohn – Owner	17 July 2005
13	Featherbed	Knysna	Helen Smith – Assistant General Manager	28 July 2005

TOURISM BUREAUS			
	Location	Contact Person	Date of interview
1	Franschhoek (Wine Valley & Tourist Association)	Donovan Delpaul	18 May 2005
2	Paarl	Lydia Harrison	1 June 2005
3	Knysna	Craig Nancarrow – CEO	1 July 2005
4	George	Joan Shaw – Manager	6 July 2005
5	Citrusdal	Christine Tredoux – Tourism Official	13 July 2005
6	Clanwilliam	Melina Constance – Chief Executive Official	15 July 2005
7	Cape Town Visitor Services (Peninsula)	Fuad Peters – Information & Reservations Consultant, Membership Administrator	15 July 2005
8	Montagu/Ashton	Charlie Joubert – Office Manager	18 July 2005

TRAVEL AGENCIES				
	Name	Location	Contact Person	Date of interview
1	Maties Travel	Bellville	Mike Vermeulen	19 May 2005
2	N.E.W.S. Travel	Franschhoek	Elmarie Meintjes	25 April 2005
3	V&A Travel	Waterfront	Kaashief Davids	13 July 2005
4	Sure Travel Foreshore	Cape Town	Leonora Adams	10 June 2005

Other interviews

Neil from Easy Rider Tours and Stumble Inn Lodge in Stellenbosch.

APPENDIX B: NUMBER AND NATIONALITY OF TOURISTS

Table 6.1

Tour operators	Number & Nationality of tourists
1	International – 90% (most are from Germany, also UK, France, US, Australia, Italy, Japan, China, Switzerland, Norway) National – 10%
2	International – 95% (30% UK, 15% Netherlands, 15% Germany, 10% other Western European countries, 5% Scandinavia, 20% USA & Canada) National – 5%
3	International – 40% (UK, Australia, Nieu Zealand, Finland) South Africa – 60%
4	International – 50% (15% UK, 15% Germany, 5% Holland, 5% other) National – 50% (30% Cape Town, 20% PE, 10% Gauteng)
5	International – 40% (15% UK, 15% Germany, 10% other) National – 60%
6	International – 80% (Germany) Other – 20%
7	International – 90% (40% UK, 25% Europe, 15% US, 10% Asia & Australia) Other – 10% (includes South Africa)
8	International – 80% (70% UK, 10% US) Other – 20% (includes South Africa)
9	International – 50% (40% Germany, 10% other) National – 50%
10	Most – Germany
11	International – 80% (Europe) Other – 20%
12	International – 100% (80% Germany, 20% UK)
13	International – (40% Netherlands, 20% Germany, 20% UK, 5% France, 5% Italy, 5% US, 3% Ireland, 2% Spain) National – 50% (30% Cape Town, 15% Gauteng, 5% Kwa-Zulu Natal)

Table 6.2

Tourism Bureaus	Number & Nationality of tourists
Franschhoek	International tourists (in order): UK, Germany, Netherlands, France, Sweden
George	(in order) SA, UK, Netherlands, Germany, Ireland, other Benelux countries, US, Canada, Australia, Japan
Knysna	International – 40% (in order – UK, Germany, US, Europe) National – 60%
Paarl	Various
Clanwilliam	International – 47% (25% Germany, 10% UK, 1% US, 1% Japan) National – 43% (20% Western Cape, 15% Gauteng, 10% Northern Cape, 5% North West, 3% Limpopo)
Cape Town Visitor Services	Unanswered
Montagu/Ashton	(in order) UK, Germany, other countries, Benelux countries, US, France, Asia, South-America, Africa

APPENDIX C: AGE OF TOURISTS

Tour operators	Average age of tourists
1	48
2	30+
3	25-40
4	35/40
5	30-40
6	35+
7	40
8	45
9	68
10	13-65
11	35-55
12	Middle-aged, retired tourists and younger professionals on holiday
13	8-80
Tourism Bureaus	
Franschhoek	Unanswered
George	(in order) 50+, 40+, 30+, 20+
Knysna	International – 50+ National – all ages
Paarl	All ages
Citrusdal	All ages
Clanwilliam	9-70
Cape Town Visitor Services	Unanswered
Montagu/Ashton	All ages

APPENDIX D: REASON FOR TOURISTS' VISIT

Tour Operator	Reason for visit
1	Private tours, incentive tours
2	65% leisure, 35% corporate
3	Unanswered
4	95% leisure, 5% corporate
5	Leisure
6	Leisure
7	Leisure
8	Leisure
9	Leisure
10	Leisure
11	Oct – March: Leisure, April – Sept: Corporate
12	90% leisure, 10% corporate
13	Leisure
Tourism Bureaus	
Franschhoek	Leisure
Paarl	Leisure
Knysna	International – 90% leisure, 10% corporate National – Leisure
George	International – Leisure National – mostly leisure, also corporate
Citrusdal	Leisure
Clanwilliam	Leisure
Cape Town Visitor Services	Mostly leisure, also corporate
Montagu/Ashton	Leisure

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Background of company/Client Base

- Brief description of your company and what you do etc. Are you a travel agent or tour operator?
- Number and origin of tourists that make use of your company (E.g. 40% from Mpumalanga, 50% from the UK and 10% from Australia).
- Age of tourists (does not need to be specific – can be an average)
- Duration of tourists' visit in Western Cape & South Africa respectively.
- Reason for visit (Corporate travel/Leisure etc)

2. What are tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape?

- Do these perceptions change from before their visit to after their visit?
- How are these perceptions created?

3. What role does the media play in tourists' perceptions of crime in the Western Cape?

4. Have you had to deal with any attacks on tourists? What happened? Would attacks on tourists prevent them from visiting the Western Cape again?

5. Do you think enough has been done in terms of legislation to protect tourists from incidents of crime? Why?

6. What, if any, precautionary measures do you take to protect the tourists while on tour? Do you give advice to tourists or warn them?

7. Do you belong to any tourism organisations/institutions?

8. In your opinion, what should still be done to ensure sustainable tourism growth in the Western Cape?

9. What do tourists perceive as positive and negative aspects of the Western Cape?

10. Do you keep any logbook or database in which tourists can give their comments regarding their experiences during their visit? What is the general finding?